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Addressing and Mitigating Violence

Can Targeted Transition Services for Young Offenders Foster Pro-Social Attitudes and Behaviours in Urban Settings? Evidence from the Evaluation of the Kherwadi Social Welfare Association's Yuva Parivartan Programme

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CAN TARGETED TRANSITION SERVICES FOR YOUNG OFFENDERS FOSTER PRO-SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOURS IN URBAN SETTINGS? EVIDENCE FROM THE EVALUATION OF THE KHERWADI SOCIAL WELFARE ASSOCIATION'S YUVA PARIVARTAN PROGRAMME

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Acronyms

DTP	Desktop Publishing
GoI	Government of India
IAP	Intensive Aftercare Programme
IQQ	Individual Quantitative Questionnaire
KSWA	Kherwadi Social Welfare Association
MCAA	Measure of Criminal Attitudes and Associates
MME	mixed-methods evaluation
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
OLS	ordinary least squares
SDM	Sub-Divisional Magistrate
SQ	Sub-Question
YP	Yuva Parivartan

Abstract

Main evaluation question:
Can targeted preventive action and access to employment for school dropouts act as a preventive measure against delinquency and crime?

Kherwadi Social Welfare Association's Yuva Parivartan (Youth Betterment) programme is evaluated through a mixed-methods approach on the following five programme-specific Sub-Questions (SQs):

SQ1: Is the Yuva Parivartan (YP) programme effective at imparting on youth a set of pro-social values that are consistent with job-seeking and crime-avoidance behaviours?

SQ2: Are the benefits of the YP programme reaching the population who self-report committing a crime?

SQ3: Does the YP programme lead to pro-social behavioural changes?

SQ4: Is there a relationship between attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour, entitlement, anti-social intent and employment outcomes?

SQ5: Does the YP programme manage to instil a feeling of confidence among the trainees about their future prospects of finding a job?

The evaluation design enables a critical comparison of employment outcomes and behavioural changes among cohorts of school dropouts varying by time since participating in the vocational training programme. Results are interpreted in conjunction with detailed in-depth narratives describing the experiences of young offenders as well as key insights into the perceptions of programme effectiveness. The sample comprised 1,207 youth (average age of 20 years), who were either aspiring to enrol in the programme, were currently enrolled, or had graduated from the programme up to three years prior to the survey. Respondents within each group were randomly selected from a roster of all programme participants past, present and prospective across urban Maharashtra.

Executive summary

In Maharashtra, state-sponsored programmes that support school dropouts and young offenders in finding employment and integrating into society are severely limited by a lack of resources and capacity. While several government-sponsored schemes do exist, in reality, however, support for school dropouts is largely provided on an *ad hoc* basis, and predominantly by non-governmental organisations. In this context, we conducted a mixed-methods evaluation of Kherwadi Social Welfare Association's Yuva Parivartan programme. This is one of the largest non-governmental interventions directed towards school dropouts and juvenile offenders.

The overarching evaluation question adopted was 'Can targeted preventive action and access to employment for school dropouts act as a preventive measure against delinquency and crime?' The following five programme-specific Sub-Questions (SQ) were used for evaluation purposes:

SQ1: Is the Yuva Parivartan (YP) programme effective at imparting on youth a set of pro-social values that are consistent with job-seeking and crime-avoidance behaviours?

SQ2: Are the benefits of the YP programme reaching the population who self-report committing a crime?

SQ3: Does the YP programme lead to pro-social behavioural changes?

SQ4: Is there a relationship between attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour, entitlement, anti-social intent and employment outcomes?

SQ5: Does the YP programme manage to instil a feeling of confidence among the trainees about their future prospects of finding a job?

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Summary of findings

1. We find that the programme is unable to significantly change attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour.

While students did indicate that the programme was having a positive impact on their attitudes, stress levels and overall outlook on life, this was not evident in their response to the questions which measured their attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour. Looking at our qualitative interviews, we note that deep-rooted frustrations and negative experiences in the past, such as being neglected, abused, and humiliated, lack of parental attention and guidance, or a chaotic family life, were very dominant themes. Violent and/or

aggressive behaviour connected with these types of deep-rooted frustrations is notably difficult to address, let alone reverse.

In this light, several of the young offenders we interviewed spoke of treading a delicate balance between being physically weak and feeling marginalised on the one hand, and (perhaps mistakenly) feeling empowered to, or being left with no other option but to, take full control of their life at an early age. Expressions of aggression or violence linked to these types of experiences tend to also be deeply tangled with feelings of disaffection. Addressing the needs and aspirations among young offenders, as well as among youth who are at risk of committing crime in the future, are therefore important aspects of long-term violent conflict prevention strategies. It is possible that our results, which look at the impact of a three-month course, are only picking up the first stages of a much longer process of change. From the point of view of the programme, however, we do recommend that the significance of a longer-term perspective be taken on board.

2. We find that those who are enrolled in or have graduated from the YP programme are more inclined to feel 'entitled' than those who have not yet enrolled on the course.

The literature tells us that an acute sense of entitlement (that is, an unrealistic, unmerited or inappropriate expectation of favourable living conditions and favourable treatment at the hands of others) is a trait associated with narcissistic personalities, and is often linked with a greater likelihood of unproductive or criminal behaviour. While it is not possible to ascertain without further in-depth qualitative research, we theorise that this result may be driven by a sense of disaffection among youth who drop out of school, then take steps to get vocational training, but still find it difficult to quickly find work.

Our recommendation is therefore to conduct a further in-depth qualitative study to address this apparent weakness in the YP programme. In doing so, it needs to be recognised that attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour can stem from very deep-rooted frustrations, and that these are very difficult to address in the short term, and seem to be outside the purview of a three-month programme. Specific attention might also be given so as to not create unrealistic expectations among programme students enrolled in a short-term programme.

3. We find that the YP programme is successful at reducing the extent of anti-social intent, and does so equally for boys and girls.

Importantly, the effect already starts during enrolment, strengthens after graduation, and then remains stable for a year after that. However, this finding does not hold true for those who self-report perpetrating a crime with friends in the past. In this regard, particular attention is therefore needed for this sub-group. This result might again be related to the association between aggressive behaviour and disaffection mentioned above.

4. We find that the YP programme significantly increases the likelihood of social engagement. We find that this impact is stronger among girls, and gets further strengthened among graduates, with time. Importantly, we also find that, unlike the impacts on attitudes towards anti-social intent, this impact is particularly strong for those who report having perpetrated a crime.

Given that the YP programme is able to successfully increase willingness to participate in community activities and youth groups, and that this impact appears to strengthen with time, we see this as some degree of evidence that the programme is likely to lead to pro-social behavioural changes, particularly among the most at-risk population. While definitively

tracking behavioural change was not possible through a cross-sectional evaluation, this result potentially points to a significant strength of the YP course.

5. We find that the YP programme is successful in instilling a sense of confidence among students. The programme significantly reduces pessimism relating to job prospects, and this impact is strongest among at-risk youth.

We would expect employment rates among graduates of a successful programme to be high. We also know that school dropouts and particularly those who have a criminal record may face considerable difficulties in accessing the job market. These difficulties take time to overcome, and we would therefore expect employment rates to increase with time. In this regard we know that a significant majority of respondents rated the YP programme positively. 60 per cent said that the programme helped them in finding a job, 89 per cent said that the programme helped them change their priorities in life, and 90 per cent said that the programme helped manage their stress and frustrations better.

However, it was interesting to note that these perceptions did not fully match actual achievement: overall, employment rate among those with a one-year gap since graduating from the YP programme is only 20 per cent, and employment rate among those with a two-year gap since graduating is 41 per cent. Employment rates for girls is about half that of boys. The large proportion of girls not having and not looking for a job is also striking. It is fully reasonable to expect that the time horizon for actually achieving employment could be much longer than three years. We nevertheless find that specific attention can be given to the relatively high proportion of graduates who are unemployed, and yet are not looking for work. To monitor this result more robustly, our recommendation is also to conduct longitudinal comparisons that allow continued counselling and the tracking of employment outcomes of students over longer time horizons.

1 Context of evaluation

Even though delinquency is not regarded as a policing priority in India (see Alexander 2002), juvenile crime (serious crime committed by those 18 years or younger) in India has increased by 40 per cent from 2001 to 2010 (NCRB various years). The city of Mumbai, Maharashtra, has experienced one of the most dramatic increases, where juvenile crime has risen by more than one third in the last year alone. Looking at state-wide incidence of crime, Maharashtra accounted for 19 per cent of all juvenile crimes committed in India in 2011 – second only to the state of Madhya Pradesh that accounted for the slightly higher share of 19.8 per cent (NCRB 2011).

These trends have brought a heightened level of academic interest in the nature and causes of delinquency in India. Some studies outline a strong correlation between youth who have dropped out of school and those who are arrested for involvement in juvenile and other serious crime (Raghavan 2012). Crime records in India also indicate that juvenile crime is committed predominantly by school dropouts or illiterate boys aged between 16 and 18 years (NCRB various years). In such cases, the majority of the charges relate to theft, followed by assault, while juveniles in conflict with law were largely from low-income working families (IRIS and UN-HABITAT 2013). In Maharashtra, the links between delinquency and school drop-out behaviour, however, appear to be more complex. The primary and secondary school drop-out rate in Maharashtra (38.2 per cent for Class I–X for girls and boys combined in 2011) is lower than the national average of 49.3 per cent (NCRB various years). This, combined with the state's high and rising rate of juvenile crime suggests there may be tertiary factors influencing the level of juvenile crimes. However, systematic studies on the perpetration of juvenile crime, or evidence-based evaluations of reintegration-recidivism programmes targeted at school dropouts and juvenile offenders are rare in the context of India.

2 Scope of mixed-methods evaluation

We conduct a mixed-methods evaluation (MME) of the Kherwadi Social Welfare Association's Yuva Parivartan (Youth Betterment) programme, with a particular focus on their Livelihoods Training for school dropouts and young offenders as a means to assess an intervention aimed at the sustained reduction in juvenile offending in India. Yuva Parivartan (YP) is one of the largest non-governmental vocational and training-based reintegration-recidivism programmes directed at school dropouts, as well as young offenders inside and outside prison in India. YP has been in existence for 15 years, and has over 300 centres across 18 states in India, which include 50 Livelihood Development Centres, more than 200 Partnership Centres, 5 Jail Centres and over 2,000 mobile rural camp centres. The programme currently caters to approximately 100,000 school dropouts countrywide.

Table 2.1 State-wise spread and details of Yuva Parivartan programmes across India

State	No of training centres in cities and towns (sub-regions in bold)	Specific training offered to young offenders in prison (prison names in bold)
Maharashtra	**Vidharbha:** Wardha, Amrawati, Bhandara, Chandrapur, Yawatmal, Gadchiroli, Gondia, Nagpur-1 and 2, Akola, Buldana **Khandesh:** Nandurbar, Dhule, Jalgaon, Nashik, Ahmednagar **Raigad:** Alibaug, Zirad, Khopoli, Ratnagiri, Sindurdurg, Thane **Pune:** Peth, Chakan, Yerwada, Tadiwala, Pandavnagar **Marathwada:** Aurangabad, Usmanpura, Jalna, Bhokardan, Latur, Osmanabad, Udgir, Ambejogai, Kaij, Beed, Nanded, Hingoli, Parbhani **Mumbai:** Mumbai, Kalyan, Bhiwandi, Palghar, Wada **Kolhapur:** Kolhapur	Yes, in **Kalyan**, **Arthur Road,** and **Yerwada**

(Cont'd).

Table 2.1 (cont'd.)

Karnataka	Bangalore – 1 and 2	No
Bihar	Patna, Ara, Buxar, Jahanabad, Gaya, Vaishali, Saran, Gopalganj, Begusarai, Purniya, Madhepura, Supual, Saharasha, East Champaran, Madhubani, Nawada, Nalanda, Lakhi Sarai, Mujjaffarpur	Yes in **Beur**
Uttar Pradesh	Lucknow, Sitapur, Hardoi, Unnao, Farukabad, Sultanpur, Raibareilly, Balrampur, Kushi Nagar, Gorakhpur, Deoriya, Siddharth Nagar, Allahabad, Etah, Barelly, Budual, Muradabad, Rampur, Sambhal, Pilibhet, Firozabad, Shahjahnpur, Udhamsingh Nagar, Bijnor, Amroha, Mujaffarnagar, Hariduar, Dehradun	Yes in **Bareilly and Meerut**
Madhya Pradesh	Indore, Jabalpur, Chhattisgarh, Jhansi, Jalawan, Lalitpur, Gwalior, Guna, Khargone, Ujjain, Ratlam, Sagar, Satna, Mandala, Ghumla, Ramgarh	No
Delhi	Delhi	Yes in **Delhi: Tihar Jail**
Andhra Pradesh	Hyderabad, Secundrabad	No
Rajasthan	Jaipur, Alwar, Jhunjunu, Bharatpur, Tonk, Dosha, Ajmer, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Naguar, Bundi, Dholpur, Sikar	**Bikaner**
Gujarat	Ahmedabad, Surat	No
Jharkhand	Ranchi, Daltangunj, Bokaro	No
Odisha	Sambhalpur, Bargarh, Sonepur, Balangir, Hangul	No
Chattisgarh	Raipur, Durg, Rajnandgaon, Mahasamund, Kankar, Bastar, Dantewada, Dhamtari	No
Haryana	Vardhaman, Hisar, Panipath, Sonipath, Faridabad	No
J and K	Baramullah, Uri, Ananthnath, Pulwama	No
Punjab	Patiala, Ambala, Ludhiyana, Sangrur	No
Himachal Pradesh	Kangra, Hamirpur, Una, Shimla	No
West Bengal	Hugli, Howrah, Kolkata, Birvhome	No

Source: Kherwadi Social Welfare Association (KSWA) (n.d.) Yuva Parivartan programme documentation.

This evaluation focuses specifically on Maharashtra, where the YP programme includes a three- to four-month vocational support and counselling course, which mobilises youth within their local context and includes daily sessions to help bring change in the attitudes of programme participants, sessions on stress and anger management, as well as career

choice. While the sessions on attitudes and stress and anger management are made available to all participants, students choose one course out of nine options:

1. Basic Beautician or Advanced Beautician
2. Basic Tailoring or Advanced Tailoring
3. Fashion Designing
4. Basic Computer, Tally, DTP, Computer Hardware
5. Mobile Repairing
6. Nursing Assistance (Female)
7. Wireman
8. Motor Mechanic
9. Beginners Basic English Speaking

The goal is to provide viable career options for youth who have dropped out of school and reduce the likelihood of recidivistic behaviour among young offenders. In light of the latter, YP also reaches out to first-time offenders who might suffer from destructive and negative thought patterns and the psychological impact of being in prison for the first time.

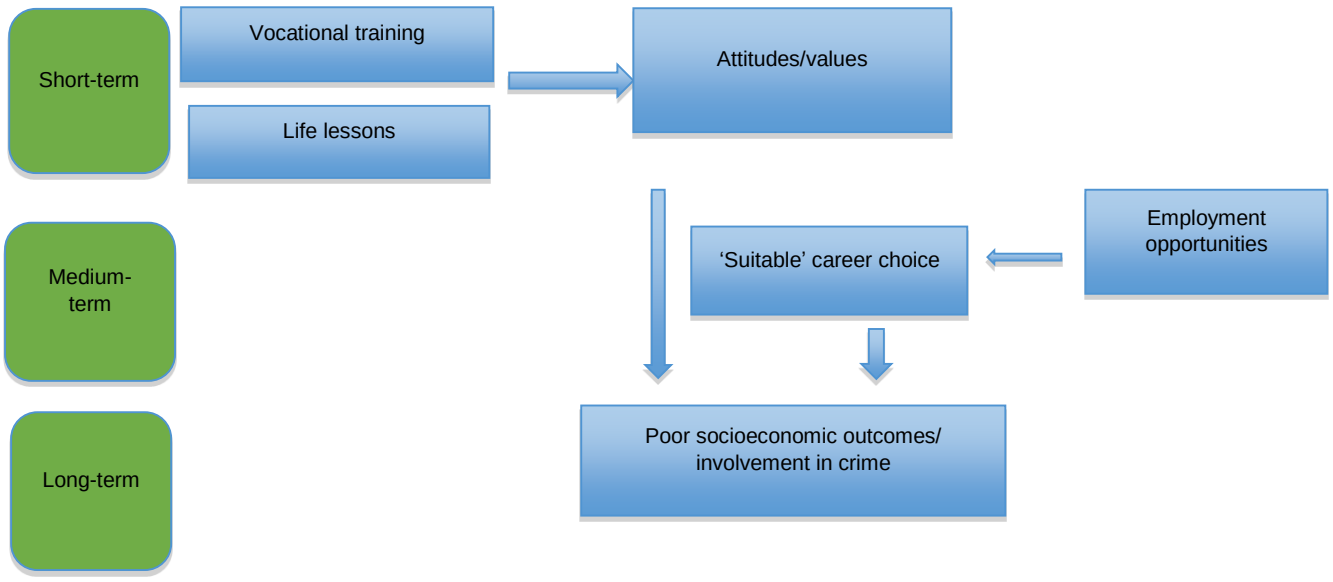
As part of this evaluation, we are particularly interested in the outcomes and experiences of youth between the ages of 18 and 25. This cohort's circumstances fall within the purview of both 'juvenile' justice, defined by the Indian Penal Code as referring to the criminal actions of those 18 years and under, as well as 'youth' welfare, defined by India's National Youth Policy as those between 16 and 30 years of age. The liminal nature of this cohort has also been recognised as such by the recently introduced Juvenile Justice Act (2014) which includes a new stipulation allowing the courts leeway to determine whether a person between the ages of 18 and 20 might be tried as an adult in instances where the crime committed can attract a punishment of seven years' imprisonment or greater. This cohort also signifies a key stage of transition out of childhood and dependency, into a stage where individuals will likely be expected to be independent and often also be the primary providers for others in their households. As such, understanding the outcomes and challenges faced by this 'dual status' cohort is of key importance to youth poverty and wellbeing outcomes.

3 Theory of change

In contrast to criminal justice involving adults, juvenile justice is governed by a 'rehabilitative ideal' as the underlying legitimating factor for correctional intervention (see Meier and Vasmatkar 2011). In recognition of this, the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act (2000, amended 2014) in India stipulates that each district, or group of districts in India, provides a wide range of child welfare services ranging from an overseeing committee, a juvenile justice board, and juvenile welfare officers, to a child helpline, an observation home with proper counselling and an aftercare programme.

The theory of change regarding improving recidivistic behaviour also stresses access to employment opportunities as an important external factor (see, for example, MoJ 2013). Employment opportunities interact with the attitudes and values of school dropouts and young offenders to explain the career choice of the latter (medium-term outcome). Even a great training is unlikely to impact career choice in the absence of legal and fruitful employment opportunities. In turn, we hypothesise, following the literature on youth, employment and crime, that there should be a link between type of employment (or lack thereof) and likelihood to be involved in crime. Such a theory of change can be summarised graphically as in Figure 3.1. The inputs from YP, i.e. vocational training and counselling, are meant to directly impact the set of attitudes and values of school dropouts and young offenders (shorter-term outcome). We theorise that these short-term outcomes reduce the probability of poor socioeconomic outcomes and/or direct involvement in crime (or recidivism) in the long run.

Figure 3.1 Theory of change



Source: Authors' own.

4 Evaluation design

The main aim of the present mixed-methods evaluation is to examine the impact of a vocational training programme on (a) short-term employment outcomes and (b) long-term behavioural changes among youth participants, and (c) broadly defined involvement in crime. As such, the dependent variable for our analysis will be provided by a set of questions on employment outcomes, attitudes towards continued schooling, work, crime, and compliance with the law. These variables are suggested by the academic literature as good predictors of crime and can also proxy for actual probability of perpetration or recidivism.

The rationale for focusing on this broader set of variables rather than recidivism rates alone is twofold: firstly, due to the nature of the topic area, there were several legal, ethical and logistical constraints we were required to adhere to while designing the evaluation. In particular, there are no figures to show how many juvenile accused actually get rehabilitated. We only know from crime records that approximately 10 per cent of juvenile delinquents are repeat offenders (NCRB various years). This, however, is only an estimate since it is mandatory to destroy a juvenile's crime record upon completion of full sentence. This legal stipulation also implied that we were not able to match official crime records data with our sample, or ask respondents about any criminal history directly. Furthermore, we were unable to directly contact or interview respondents. This had to be done via trained counsellor staff. We were also limited by the nature of permissions received (relating to the duration, location and scheduling of in-depth interviews) conducted with juvenile offenders inside prison. For these reasons, uncertainty exists as to exact rates of recidivism among young offenders in the sample. Unless rates are extremely high, the sample size needed to capture a significant impact would be too large to be feasible within this study.

Secondly, the theory of change highlights the key role of employment opportunities. While the programme directly impacts on attitudes and skills, it does not directly impact employment opportunities. But the latter are key to understand both employment outcomes and involvement in crime. We must therefore look at involvement in crime (longer-term outcome), attitudes/values (shorter-term outcome), employment outcomes (medium-term outcome) and employment opportunities (external factor) to evaluate the impact of the programme. For instance, we can imagine a situation where the mindset of a school drop-out or young offender has been positively transformed by the programme but the absence of opportunities available to them have sent them back towards committing crime. In this case the programme would be successful in attaining its short- and medium-term targets, but not its longer-term outcome due to external factors. By looking at crime alone, the whole programme would appear to be failing, which would not tell the full story.

The evaluation was aimed at capturing the short- to long-term impact of the programme. It will do so by comparing three groups:

1. G (graduated): youth who have been graduated from the programme from one to three years; these are identified as G1 for a one-year gap, G2 for a two-year gap and G3 for a three-year gap since graduation;
2. E (enrolled): youth who are currently attending the programme but have not graduated yet;
3. A (aspiring): youth who have expressed an interest in the programme but have not yet participated in it.

Comparisons across G, E and A groups in terms of attitudes/values will reveal whether the programme influences these, and if so, whether the effect is durable or wanes through time.

Furthermore, exploiting the variation within youth of group G in terms of how long they have graduated, and the type of employment opportunities that have been available to them will shed light on the nexus between attitudes, employment opportunities, employment outcomes and involvement in crime.

In addition, we will conduct in-depth qualitative interviews among a smaller sample of young offenders, spread across groups G, E and A, through which we will look to understand the impacts of vocational training programmes on recidivistic behaviour.

The evaluation design described above is a variation of the 'post-test only' typology of Shadish, Cook and Campbell (2002). We use members of group A who have not yet received the treatment as our control group and groups E, G1 and G2 as three treatment arms, which are distinct in terms of when their members received the training. However, we do not have pre-test data collected prior to the treatment that would serve as a baseline. We recognise that in the presence of systematic differences (i.e. selection bias) between groups prior to receiving the treatment, we would not be able to estimate the causal changes caused by the programme on the outcomes of interest. Even with the absence of pre-test information, however, we can nevertheless address selection bias issues through matching or controlling for observable differences (as in Shadish *et al*. 2002) across groups.

We use regression adjustments to correct for the potential selection bias by making use of the variables in the post-test that are (1) susceptible to be correlated with both treatment and outcomes of interest and (2) not influenced by the treatment itself. Shadish *et al*. (2002), and Heckman *et al*. (1997, 1998) show that matching (or regression adjustment) works best when the comparison groups are not too dissimilar to start with and when the matching (or adjustment) is made on stable, reliably measured variables. For the purposes of this evaluation, we adjust for age, sex, whether the individual lives in Mumbai (the capital city, and largest urban area in the sample), and prior criminal record measured by whether the individual self-reported perpetration of a crime with friends in the past. We also use a score for 'attitudes towards associates', as a measure of proximity with law-breaking individuals and a strong predictor of future recidivism. We calculate this score using the following statements and template for scoring:

Table 4.1 Scoring template for attitudes towards associates

Attitudes towards associates	Score 1 point if	Total score
I have friends who have been to jail	Agree	8
I would not steal, and I would hold it against anyone who does	Disagree	
None of my friends have ever wanted to commit a crime	Disagree	
I have friends who are well known to the police	Agree	
None of my friends have committed crimes	Disagree	
None of my current friends or neighbours have ever been arrested	Disagree	
None of my childhood friends or neighbours has ever been arrested	Disagree	
No one in my close family has ever been arrested	Disagree	

As indicated in Table 4.2, there are some differences on these potential confounding variables across groups. In particular, members of the control group A are evenly balanced between girls and boys, whereas in G1 and E there are significantly more boys; members of group A are also significantly older and more likely to live in Mumbai than members of G1, are significantly more likely to have committed a crime than members of G1 and G2, and

display a score on the scale of attitudes to associates that is both significantly higher than that of members of E and lower than those of members of both G1 and G2. Despite these results, Table 4.2 shows that overall differences are not too large in magnitude across groups and that successful adjustments of the confounders can be achieved.

Table 4.2 Post-test means of potential confounding factors by intervention arm

	G_1	G_2	E	A	G_1-A	G_2-A	E-A
			Means			*P-values of differences*	
Gender (girls)	0.75	0.56	0.76	0.51	0.00	0.27	0.00
Age (years)	19.9	20.8	20.8	21.1	0.00	0.31	0.14
Lives in Mumbai	0.02	0.08	0.18	0.15	0.04	0.65	0.36
Committed a crime	0.16	0.19	0.25	0.25	0.10	0.00	0.83
Attitudes to associates	1.48	1.7	0.86	1.3	0.06	0.09	0.00

Note: Column G1 denotes individuals in G1 group, etc.

4.1 Process of evaluation

This MME was collaboratively designed, with an initial round of input from key advisors and informants, as well as from Kherwadi Social Welfare Association (KSWA) trustees and staff. A questionnaire and in-depth interview protocol were then developed over a month-long consultative process. Permissions and ethical clearances were then obtained (some changes were needed at this stage). The questionnaire was then implemented. Emerging themes from the quantitative analysis were fed into the qualitative in-depth protocol, which were then implemented on a case-by-case basis as interviews conducted inside prison required additional permissions and clearances. Critical analysis generated using both quantitative and qualitative data were then discussed with key experts on juvenile delinquency, recidivism and correctional services in India, to determine the extent to which the findings suggested by the data reflected wider experiences of implementing young offender and youth vocational programmes. The final conclusions of the evaluation plan to take these discussions into account, before final reporting.

4.2 Instruments

Mixed-methods analyses of youth transition services which we reviewed tended to be small-scale, qualitative research following specific offenders once they have been released from incarceration (Josi and Sechrest 1999; Wells *et al.* 2006), or a meta-analysis of other one-method analyses (Lipsey 2009; Tong and Farrington 2006). However, Abrams, Shannon and Sangalang (2008) did implement a mixed-methods evaluation study of transition services for incarcerated youth. As suggested by Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2005), rather than taking a 'quantitative and qualitative' approach to mixed methods, we adopt an 'explanatory and confirmatory' approach, with the aim to unite quantitative and qualitative methodologies and analysis within the same framework. Lieber and Weisner (2010: 569) suggest that such a methodology should be seen on a continuum that can be drawn from in response to the particular research being carried out. They suggest that in order to develop dimensions from coded qualitative data that can be integrated into quantitative data, one must first analyse the code from the qualitative data. Emerging themes can then be used to link into quantitative data collection, and coded in the same way.

In light of this, we employed three types of instruments for data collection:

4.2.1 Key informant interviews

Key informant interviews conducted for the purposes of this evaluation were semi-structured (qualitative) in-depth interviews with people knowledgeable of the dynamics of juvenile crime, recidivism, and interventions related to their mitigation in India. The primary purpose of key informant interviews was to collect information from a wide range of people, including police personnel, community leaders, professionals, and social workers. This information was used in developing the evaluation design, developing the sampling framework as well as developing the instruments. Further key informant interviews were carried out subsequently to the quantitative questionnaire, to enhance the information gathered (see Section 4.1).

4.2.2 Individual Quantitative Questionnaire (IQQ)

The IQQ included five modules (see Annex 2 for complete questionnaire) and was conducted over the phone:

1. Personal and household context: describing living conditions (including whether respondents were living with parents or not), nature of income (including whether respondents were the main income provider or not) and nature of responsibilities (including whether respondents had economic dependents or not);
2. Employment: details of job and income from those who were employed at the time of survey (including details of income, how respondents got that job, how long they have had the job, location of work, and opinions on their job), as well as information on job-seeking for those not employed but in the job market;
3. Satisfaction with YP programme: general questions on applicability and usefulness of the course;
4. Social context: general questions on social distance (including respondents' social associations, activities, and closeness to family);
5. Perceptions on crime, recidivism and aggression: based on the Measure of Criminal Attitudes and Associates (MCAA) (Mills, Kroner and Hemmati 2004), this module included data on whether respondents agreed or disagreed with a series of statements on criminal, recidivistic, anti-social and aggressive and/or violent behaviour.

4.2.3 Life histories of juvenile offenders

As described by Atkinson (2002: 125), a life history is 'the story a person chooses to tell about the life he has lived, told as completely and honestly as possible, what is remembered of it, and what the teller wants others to know of it, usually as a result of a guided interview by another'. Using data from life-history interviews puts greater emphasis on eliciting personal narratives, told in the respondent's own words and recounting events in their preferred order without asking them too many direct and predetermined questions. This enables respondents to arrange their experiences and relate them to other life events (UK Data Service 2014).

This technique enabled the detailed study of complex relationships of experiences across time. The life-history protocol followed by our research team was structured around key life chapters and critical events. In their narration, respondents were asked to dwell on peak experiences, bad experiences as well as 'turning points' including positive and negative influences. A series of perception questions on jobs and employment, vocational training, aspirations, household context, criminal and recidivistic behaviour as well as general outlook on life were also asked in order to provide a bridge with the IQQ.

The complete life-history protocol is provided in Annex 3.

4.3 Sample size and power calculations

The MME is designed around a quantitative and qualitative sample.

1. The sample for the IQQ was designed to comprise 1,000 youth (18–25 years of age when enrolled in YP), of which approximately at least 10–15 per cent would be youth who are currently enrolled in YP but have not completed the course (group E); a further 10 per cent (at least) would include youth who have expressed an interest in enrolling in the course but have not yet been able to start the YP course (group A). The remaining respondents (group G) would have completed the course X years prior to the survey (where X ranges from 1 to 3 and which will be summarised as G1, G2 and G3). Respondents within each group were randomly selected from a list of all programme participants across Maharashtra meeting the group criteria.

In effect, we surveyed 1,207 individuals, i.e. more than the intended target of 1,000. The breakdown of sample per group is shown in Table 4.3. Finding individuals of groups A and E turned out to be easier than initially planned. However, members of G3 proved very difficult to find, and we were only able to trace nine individuals who had graduated from the YP three or more years ago. It was decided to drop G3 from the design, and instead pool these individuals into G2.

Table 4.3 Sample size broken down by intervention arm

Group	A	E	G1	G2	Totals
Girls	110	195	402	109	816
Boys	107	60	135	85	387
Full sample	217	255	537	194	1,203

Note: G2 comprises nine observations of G3.

With the obtained sample sizes depicted in Table 4.3, simulations of power as a function of minimal standardised detectable effect size show that an effect size of 0.4 would be detected in 80 per cent of cases (for intervention at the person level).

2. The qualitative sample consisted of in-depth life-history style interviews with five offenders who completed the YP one year prior to the evaluation, and five offenders who have not.

4.3.1 Description of the IQQ sample

As described in Table 4.4, out of our sample of 1,207 individuals, 68 per cent were girls, while the average age of respondents was just above 20 years. Roughly 9 per cent were living in Mumbai at the time of the evaluation, and over 80 per cent were living with their parents. 14 per cent were, however, the main income providers in their households. Only about one fifth of the sample were currently in work, while 56 per cent were still actively looking for work. Nevertheless, a majority of those interviewed had a favourable opinion of the YP programme: 65 per cent found that the programme helped them in getting a job, and nearly 90 per cent found that the programme helped in setting their life priorities and in managing stress levels. Roughly half the sample was engaged in community activities, and one fifth of the sample self-reported committing a crime with friends in the past.

Table 4.4 Descriptive statistics

	n with valid data	Mean	SD
Gender (girls)	1,203	0.68	0.47
Age (years)	1,195	20.45	3.21
Lives in Mumbai	1,207	0.09	0.28
Lives with parents	1,206	0.82	0.38
Main income provider	1,207	0.14	0.35
Currently working	1,197	0.23	0.42
Currently looks for work	933	0.56	0.50
The programme helped with finding a job	1,205	0.65	0.48
The programme helped with setting priorities	1,206	0.89	0.31
The programme helped with managing stress	1,204	0.90	0.30
Involved in community activities	1,206	0.48	0.50
Involved in youth groups	1,204	0.46	0.50
Committed a crime with friends in the past	1,206	0.20	0.40

5 Understanding youth in urban areas as an at-risk group: a global perspective

Urban settings are increasingly equated with high levels of crime and violence (Muggah 2012), and urban youth who have dropped out of formal schooling are often viewed as an at-risk group, likely to be impacted by or be involved in delinquent crime and violence (World Bank 2011). Furthermore, perpetration of crime is often found to peak between the youth age range of 12–24 years (see World Bank 2006). For this age range, studies link the presence of jobless and idle urban youth with higher levels of violence, substance abuse and gang activities (see Narayan and Petesch 2010). In Jamaica youth aged between 17–29 years are responsible for more than half of all prosecuted crime (World Bank 2006), while youth difficulties in the labour market led to increased crime rates in France, and an increased probability of incarceration in the United States (US) (World Bank 2006). The ability to obtain employment, sustain positive relationships with others, and have self-worth are intrinsically linked to the likelihood of a young person committing criminal behaviour (Spencer and Jones-Walker 2004).

However, this research also highlights that the relationship between urbanisation, youth populations and violence is more complex than a simple linear relationship. Just as urban youth populations can perpetrate violence, they are also victims of it, and for some, violence can be a route to identity and voice. The literature detailing these complexities is vast. In the following sections, we summarise the literature on those themes that tend to dominate thinking around youth and negative socioeconomic outcomes.

5.1 Dropping out of school

The risk factors of a young person becoming a school drop-out are very similar to the risk factors of becoming involved in criminality. These include coming from a low-income family, or ‘poor’ neighbourhood, having a ‘difficult family background’, having parents with lower than average education, and also having lower than average intelligence levels (Raghavan 2012; Dixit 2010). Two different pathways to dropping out have been observed, the first through pressure, or with permission, from family members, most commonly to help with household income-generating, the second being as a decision made by the child themselves (Hunt 2008).

If a child leaves school with complicity from their family, it is usually as a result of financial pressure on the family, with a variety of different influences at play as well. In a study of school dropouts carried out in Kerala, India, the maximum number of dropouts occurred between 12 and 14 (those that happen over 14 were excluded from the study). They found that there were usually multiple reasons behind a child dropping out, but ‘financial’ reasons played a role in most cases (Kishore and Shaji 2012). Further influencing factors include the household context (female-headed households are more likely to prioritise a child’s education), the number of children in a household (the more children there are increases the likelihood of dropouts), the educational level of the parents (the lower the level, the more likely they are to allow their child to drop out), and the perceived importance of education within the household (Hunt 2008). For girls, further reasons include pregnancy and getting married (Jarjoura 1996). A child is expected to either take up wage-earning employment, or other household tasks that free up another family member to earn an income (Hunt 2008). If employment is difficult to find, and there is financial pressure to provide for the family, perhaps this is what leads to criminal behaviour.

If a child leaves school because they have made the decision themselves, the same influences discussed above are likely to be at play, particularly on whether or not their parents attempt to force them to return to school. However, the child themselves is likely to have been truant before dropping out altogether, caused by poor grades, disliking school, or as a result of the school's disciplinary action on the child (Jarjoura 1996; Hunt 2008).

Jarjoura (1996) argues that the effect of dropping out of school, including entry into criminality, varies similarly to the reasons behind dropping out. Not all school dropouts will engage in criminal behaviour. However, studies such as Sum, Khatiwada and McLoughlin (2009) found that 9.4 per cent of all 16–24-year-old males who were institutionalised in the US, as a result of criminal activity in 2006–07 were high school dropouts, compared with 2.8 per cent who had graduated from high school. The same study found that 37 per cent of high school dropouts lived within families that were classified as poor or near poor (*ibid.*).

5.2 Unemployment and 'idleness'

Although the links found between unemployment and crime are complex and methodologically controversial, it is agreed that there is a link between the two (Cantor and Land 1985; Andresen 2012; Chiricos 1987; World Bank 2006). Unemployment can be particularly damaging to economic and personal welfare:

> When it occurs at the fragile start of one's working life. Legitimate hopes of finding a job and a career are shattered and replaced by the pain of undeserved social rejection. This is tantamount to a denial of economic citizenship and gives rise to despair and resentment. The consequences of these early wounds are often deep and long lasting, taking the form of diminished future employability and earnings. (ILO 2012: 5)

Not only does unemployment lead to criminality, but having a criminal record reduces the ability to find employment (Andresen 2012). In France, higher youth unemployment in urban areas can be seen to lead to an increase in crime rates, specifically burglaries, thefts, and drug offences (World Bank 2006). A study on how young girls and boys (aged between 8 and 12 years) living in poor urban neighbourhoods in the US defined and described reasons associated with male youth violence found that girls and boys came up with common reasons regarding why boys partake in neighbourhood violence, including '[the need for] respect, idle time, gangs and cliques, and witnessing violence'. Boys stated a further reason was money, and the use of drugs and alcohol. 'Idle time' was often described as a reason for violence because the 'youth' had nothing better to do, and nothing to distract them from using violence when the opportunity presented (Yonas *et al*. 2005: 549). In a similar vein, Cardenas, de Hoyos and Szekely (2011) find 'idle youth' aged between 15 and 24 who are neither in school nor in employment, subject to increased vulnerability and a lack of opportunities that can lead to crime, addiction and therefore, insecurity.

On the one hand therefore, it is appropriate for reintegration programmes to address employment issues with their participants. On the other hand, Gupte, te Lintelo and Barnett (2014) argue that being in employment is not just instrumental in fostering young people's ability to gain access to income and livelihood, but the right kind of work may also have intrinsic value and bestow a sense of self-worth to foster wellbeing. In a recent study, Gupte, Shahrokh and Wheeler (2014) found that youth who have dropped out of school and are arrested by city police in Mumbai do not necessarily cite a lack of money as a reason for their circumstance. Instead, they tend to display a lack of awareness about other courses that they can pursue to earn a livelihood with dignity. As such, unemployment can be viewed as a societal as well as personal problem, in that it increases social exclusion for the unemployed and widens inequalities within society. Both of these issues can lead to crime and anti-social behaviour, which in turn makes societies vulnerable to civil disorder and

political upheaval. Furthermore, youth are often only able to access low-paid and most often informal jobs. These are unlikely to offer job security or career prospects, and do not provide the social inclusion, dignity and equality that individuals seek, thus leading to recurring insecurity (ILO 2012).

5.3 Role models

Youth aged between 15 and 18 years face a range of socioeconomic and psychological pressures as they are usually under the legal working age, not deemed as physically or mentally mature by national policies on children, and are at a critical social stage at which they become integrated into the community, acquire social values, and importantly, build trust in institutions and the rule of law. The literature is unequivocal in highlighting individual level characteristics and factors as significant predictors of criminal behaviour. For example, Begby and Cunningham (2007) highlight preferences taught and formed by family, peers, community and local institutions, and constraints imposed by the same, including household poverty, as well as macro factors such as poverty and economic inequality, as components of a set of individual level factors which influence criminal behaviour. 'Without the adequate protection, support and integration mechanisms, idle youth are totally exposed to situations that may affect their future development prospects negatively and threaten others in their societies' (Cardenas *et al*. 2011: 3).

Box 5.1 Role models are not necessarily parents

Role models were a recurring theme during the life-history interviews, but these roles were not necessarily filled by parents alone. One example of this is the case of *R (in Arthur Road prison for six months, took the YP wireman's course for three months)*.

During our interview with him, R says other NGOs are doing 'spiritual teachings' but are not regular. Yuva Parivartan course keeps students engaged 'as we are doing something with our hands'. He says that even drug addicts who are not interested in anything come to these classes.

While in school, R remembers writing a letter to the prime minister, and one day he found a large crowd gathered in front of the notice board. He vividly recalls feeling 'like a hero' when an official reply was received by the school and pinned to the noticeboard. He narrates how that incident changed the manner in which teachers looked at him. He started to get more attention from teachers and students alike. He started to get included in class debates, drama, dance and music, etc. He started to enjoy going to school. Everybody in school knew him as the person who got a letter from Mr Rajeev Gandhi.

By the time R was in college he was taking an active part in college politics. He speaks of being influenced by a senior professor. This professor was also involved in local politics. His closeness with this professor alienated him from his friends, 'but the power that he wielded due to his closeness with the professor gave him a tremendous high'. It was in the professor's company that he had started drinking regularly, and going to 5-star hotels for meals.

Source: Interview with R, Mumbai, December 2014.

In this regard, a positive correlation between a caring adult (at school or at home), not being abused or not witnessing violence, and exhibiting less 'risky' behaviour and lower rage is in evidence: for example, in South Africa, it was found that employed fathers serve as important network connections to enhance their sons' employment rates by one third (no such effect was found for their daughters, and mothers were not found to perform these employment networking roles) (Magruder 2010). Similarly, Hutz and Silva (2003) find that young Brazilian men who have been incarcerated for violence are disproportionately the sons of poor, uneducated and violent fathers. In Mumbai the number of school dropouts was significantly higher in the children of alcohol-dependent males as compared to the abstainers/social drinkers' children, while there was also a statistically significant association

between parental illiteracy and school drop-out rates among children (Pinto and Kulkarni 2012).

5.4 Gendered stereotypes and masculinities

There are a number of reasons why more young men than young women are involved in violent or criminal behaviour. On the one hand, various social and cultural norms are less tolerant of and therefore restrict women from displaying aggressive or deviant behaviour, and these tend to not apply to men. Girls are often subject to stricter family control than are boys. On the other hand, aggression and violence in many contexts tend to be integral to the very construction of masculinity and sexuality in patriarchal societies, the primary objective being to reinforce and maintain the status and authoritative position of men (see Hearn 1998). That is, societal and cultural norms or practices forgive, deny or even justify violence when boys perpetrate it.

Patriarchal structures and stereotyped gender norms hide the increasing disempowerment of many men, as socioeconomic change has left men with a patriarchal ideology 'bereft of its legitimizing activities' (Silberschmidt 2001: 657). An inability to provide financially may limit a man's role as head of the household, affecting men's social value, identity and self-esteem. Kelbert and Hossain (2014) argue that men on low and 'precarious' incomes have very limited privileges within a patriarchal system, but paradoxically the burdens on men have increased. They describe this situation as a 'poor man's patriarchy' where patriarchal societies have a set of norms about male rights and responsibilities, that places the burden of responsibility to be the household income provider with men, which is increasingly difficult in a global environment of rising food prices and challenging economic situations, alongside a necessary increase in the role of women with a household to supplement their husband's or father's income. They observe that the inability of men to provide enough food for their family has led to an increase in family problems, and the separation of families, particularly when men were not seen to be working hard enough to provide. Furthermore, the stress caused by the pressure on men to provide in such a problematic environment has been seen to lead to increased domestic violence, alcoholism and gambling.

Seemingly unrelated dynamics have been found to negatively impact gendered roles, particularly in contexts where women and girls are increasingly relied upon to earn an income, on top of internal household responsibilities. Kelbert and Hossain (2014) argue that an increase in food prices has also had an effect on women's roles within the household, which were traditionally to feed families, look after the young, old and sick, cleaning, etc. in an 'unpaid' capacity, but now also include the need to generate an income. In a study of women's roles within the household, in Bangalore, Ramu (1989) found that despite an increase in the expectation of women to provide an additional income for the family through paid employment, there was no subsequent change to their domestic obligations, or her status within the household. Furthermore, Floro (1995) suggests that time spent on domestic activities by women does not significantly decrease when they take up paid employment, meaning that their leisure time reduces instead.

6 Current thinking around the effectiveness of recidivism and transition services

Incarceration often means that youth who committed relatively minor crimes are in contact with hardened criminals. Youth who are re-entering their communities from correctional settings need specific supports to successfully reintegrate into society, and this needs more than just surveillance-oriented probation services. How successful reintegration and lower recidivism can be achieved, however, is a continued point of debate in the literature. There are very mixed results in evaluations of juvenile aftercare programmes. Inconsistent measurement methodologies are used, particularly regarding the definition of recidivism. This makes it difficult to understand what works (Harris *et al.* 2011).

Box 6.1 Interviews with young offenders – youth who committed relatively minor crimes are in contact with hardened criminals, but they also find solace among friends made while incarcerated

S feels that prison is like an alternative universe where everything is available for money. He got to meet different kinds of people [in prison]. Some got used to the prison life so much that they would come back on some pretext or the other… during prison time he saw many bad things like senior prisoners dominating juniors, and drug addiction of fellow prisoners. Most of the old prisoners used to oppress him due to his young age. He became friends with the prison monitor and saved himself from torture by other prisoners.

He mentions that during his prison tenure he became friendly with another prisoner who was very influential. He was able to get a working barrack light and fan through him. He also describes that he was a part of a group of boys who had become *dadas* ['big men'] in the prison and used to snatch money from other prisoners. They used to get into fights regularly and the influential prisoner and the monitor used to protect them from getting into trouble with prison guards. S also built friendships with prisoners from other countries. He learnt English from them. He remembers that the African prisoners prayed in the Church. He used to 'like their prayers as he got lot of peace'.

Another inmate, H, who was wrongfully accused of rape, assures us that once he is released he is sure he is never going to get caught in this kind of muddle again and will steer clear of all troublemakers. A fellow inmate has arranged his surety money and also his bail application. He says 'there are some good men in prison too who are willing to help strangers'.

Source: Interview with S, Mumbai, December 2014.

We now outline examples of existing evaluations to highlight divergent interpretations of successful interventions.

Some investigators report that aftercare programming can have impressive effects on reducing recidivism. Josi and Sechrest (1999) evaluated a parole re-entry programme in America that focused on teaching coping skills to high-risk juvenile parolees, in the community, during weekly meetings and counselling sessions. They found that the programme ('LifeSkill95') was largely successful in its aims, and that parolees who did not take part were almost twice as likely to have been re-arrested, been unemployed, or to have abused drugs or alcohol frequently since release. Tong and Farrington (2006) carried out a meta-analysis of 16 evaluations of 'reasoning and rehabilitation' programmes across four countries (UK, US, Canada and Sweden). They found that there was a significant 14 per cent decrease in recidivism rates for programme participants when compared with

control subjects. Reasoning and rehabilitation programmes aim to change the thinking of offenders, enabling them to react 'more appropriately' to situations that may result in criminality.

Others find that specific elements of aftercare are more successful than others. Lipsey (2009) carried out a meta-analysis of factors that characterise effective interventions with juvenile offenders in the US. Interventions such as skills training and counselling were found to be more effective than those based on control, such as surveillance and discipline. Interventions that were implemented with 'high quality' were found to be more effective. He found that the level of supervision applied to the young offender did not have a strong relationship with recidivism. Most interventions were found to be equally as effective at reducing recidivism, regardless of whether there was official supervision of the individual. And, in general, no difference was found in effectiveness between ages, gender and ethnicities. Similarly, Wells *et al*. (2006) carried out a study of 'shock incarceration' or 'boot camps' in Kentucky, US. They found that programming that stresses a disciplinary (such as boot camps) or purely surveillance approach is found to be unlikely to be as effective as specific support programmes to help successful reintegration into society. These transition strategies should help youth to practice and maintain pro-social behaviours and skills learnt in secure confinement and to continue to infuse structure and goal-setting into their home lives (Altschuler and Brash 2004; Spencer and Jones-Walker 2004). Juvenile justice experts also suggest that transition services should be targeted to individual needs with a wide array of interventions and linkages with social networks, and that youth should receive supervision that gradually tapers off in intensity (Altschuler and Armstrong 2001).

Altshuler and Brash (2004) outline the double transition faced by young offenders, the first being the developmental transition from youth to adult, the second being the correctional transition when re-entering their communities after imprisonment. They argue that understanding both transitions is key to successful reintegration. Programmes should focus on education, social, and work opportunities, in order to address both transitions concurrently. Transition strategies should help youth to practice and maintain pro-social behaviours and skills learnt in secure confinement and to continue to infuse structure and goal-setting into their home lives. Juvenile justice experts also suggest that transition services should be targeted to individual needs with a wide array of interventions and linkages with social networks, and that youth should receive supervision that gradually tapers off in intensity (Abrams *et al*. 2008; Altschuler and Armstrong 2001).

In total contrast, some investigations find that aftercare programmes have no effect on recidivism rates. Weibush *et al*. (2005) carried out a five-year multi-site evaluation of the implementation and outcomes of the Intensive Aftercare Programme (IAP), which is aimed at high-risk juvenile parolees and includes supervision. He found that participating in an IAP did not have an impact on recidivism outcomes. Similarly, Frederick and Roy (2003) evaluated an Intensive Aftercare Programme in New York and found no effect on recidivism, but did find a reduction in the level of violence of crimes perpetrated post-release. Florsheim *et al*. (2004) also investigated the association between the time spent in different types of youth custody programme and recidivism, but were unable to find any effect.

This range of evidence is reflected in the summary of evidence systematically reviewed by Newman *et al*. (2012) as follows:

Box 6.2 Evidence of success among recidivism interventions with consistent evidence of reducing re-offending

Pre-sentencing diversion – personal skills training + for first-time offenders. The intervention included:

- Personal skills training/counselling which is about anger management, personal responsibility and decision-making;
- Some form of reparation to the community/victim of crime;
- Family involvement compared to standard diversion (caution and monitoring).

Community-based family residential placement for female juvenile offenders. The intervention included:

- Residential placement for six months to a year in small group supportive 'family type' environment;
- Personal skills training/counselling which is about anger management, personal responsibility and decision-making;
- Monitoring and use of appropriate incentives and sanctions compared to standard residential placement.

Intervention with promising effects (positive or negative), limited or inconsistent evidence

- 'Teen courts' compared to other diversion – positive;
- Community-based family residential placements compared to standard residential placements for male juvenile offenders – positive.

Intervention for which there is insufficient evidence

- Secure incarceration compared to community sentence;
- Psycho-dynamic counselling compared to normal court interventions;
- Pre-sentence diversions compared to court community sentence;
- Multi-component diversion for persistent offenders (comparison not clear);
- Multi-component diversion for mixed groups of offence severity (comparison not clear);
- Supported transition from secure incarceration to community compared to no or limited support;
- Probation plus sports counselling compared to probation only;
- Violence re-education programme compared to court imposed community service.

Source: Newman *et al*. (2012: 28).

7 Evaluation results

To reiterate, in this study we evaluate whether KSWA's YP programme, as a targeted preventive action and route to employment for school dropouts in the short run, can act as a preventive measure against delinquency and crime in the long run. We detail our findings in the following five sections.

Results will be presented through plots of the point estimate of the impacts of E, G1 and G2 relative to A, and their associated 10 per cent confidence interval. If the vertical line corresponding to confidence fully lies above (below) the red 0 line (for continuous outcomes) or the red 1 line (for the binary outcomes), the impact is statistically positive (negative) at the 10 per cent level. The complete tables of results are shown in Annex 1.

7.1 Short-term attitudes and behavioural changes

We use three outcome variables to describe values related to crime (attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour, anti-social intent and attitudes towards entitlements), and one behaviour-related variable (involvement). Social and criminal psychology literature on juvenile crime has developed several questionnaires to measure various dimensions of youth attitudes and values that are predictive of future recidivism. The Measure of Criminal Attitudes and Associates (MCAA) (Mills *et al.* 2004) is such a standardised questionnaire. It comprises a long list of statements that the respondents can agree or disagree with. The statements are grouped into four categories: attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour, attitudes towards anti-social intent, attitudes towards entitlements and attitudes towards associates. We ask:

SQ1: Is the YP programme effective at imparting on youth a set of pro-social values that are consistent with job-seeking and crime-avoidance behaviours?

To answer SQ1, we created attitudinal scores for each individual. We assigned one point for agreeing to any single item, thereby assigning a maximum total score for each category if all items within that category were agreed with. Due to the logistical constraints discussed above, we could not ask each of the 42 items of the MCAA questionnaire.

The following two statements were used to gauge attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour, with individuals agreeing to both receiving the maximum total category score of 2:

Statement	**Points for agreeing**	**Total category score**
'Sometimes you have to fight to keep your self-respect'	1	2
'Someone who makes you very angry deserves to be hit'	1	

The score for **anti-social intent** is given by the number of times the individual agrees with the following statements:

Statement	Points for agreeing	Total category score
'I would keep any amount of money I found'	1	3
'I would be open to cheating certain people'	1	
'For a good reason, I would commit a crime'	1	

Attitude towards entitlement is assessed through agreement with the following statements:

Statement	Points for agreeing	Total category score
'I should be allowed to decide what is right and wrong'	1	3
'Only I should decide what I deserve'	1	
'A lack of money should not stop you from getting what you want'	1	

Over the entire sample, the mean scores for these categories were as follows:

Attitude category	n with valid data	Mean	SD
Attitudes towards aggressive/violent behaviour	1,204	1.19	0.61
Anti-social attitudes	1,201	1.01	0.86
Attitudes towards entitlement	1,203	2.25	0.78

We use the standardised version of the three aforementioned variables to account for their differing ranges.

As explained in the design section, it is possible that post-test results may be affected by compositional differences across the various groups. For example, individuals who graduated may be older than aspiring individuals, and attitudes towards violence may change with age. To account for such bias of composition, we control for age, sex, whether the individual lives in Mumbai, whether the individual admitted having committed a crime with friends in the past, and the individual's score on attitudes towards their associates. We label our results in which these controls are in place as 'multivariate', and we label our results as 'unmatched', where there are no controls in place.

7.1.1 Effect on attitudes: attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour

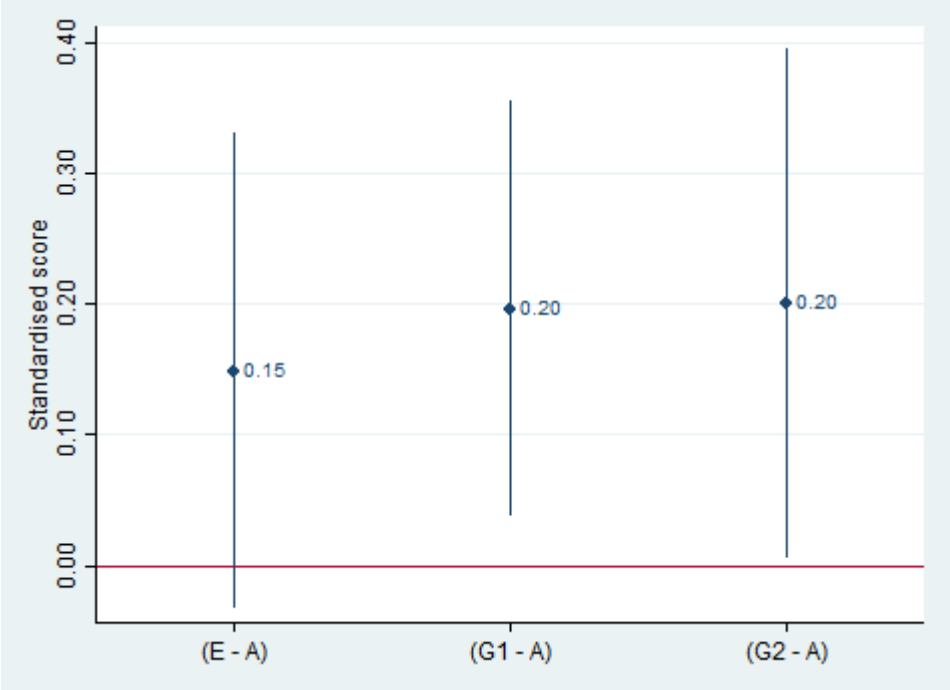
Unmatched comparisons between groups A, E, G1 and G2 on standardised attitudes to aggressive and/or violent behaviour are summarised in Figure 7.1.

Result 1: The results indicate that the programme is unable to significantly change attitudes towards violent behaviour. We do find that individuals who are currently enrolled or have graduated from the programme display marginally higher scores on attitudes towards violence than youth aspiring to join (Group A). The difference is statistically significant at 5 per cent for individuals of groups G1 and G2.

As Figure 7.2 shows, the results with the multivariate controls in place are virtually identical to those in Figure 7.1. That is, even with controls in place, we find there is a tendency for individuals going through the programme to display more aggression and an openness to be violent. The effects are, however, very small in magnitude: being part of the programme increases attitudes towards violence scores by about a fifth of the standard deviation of the measure.

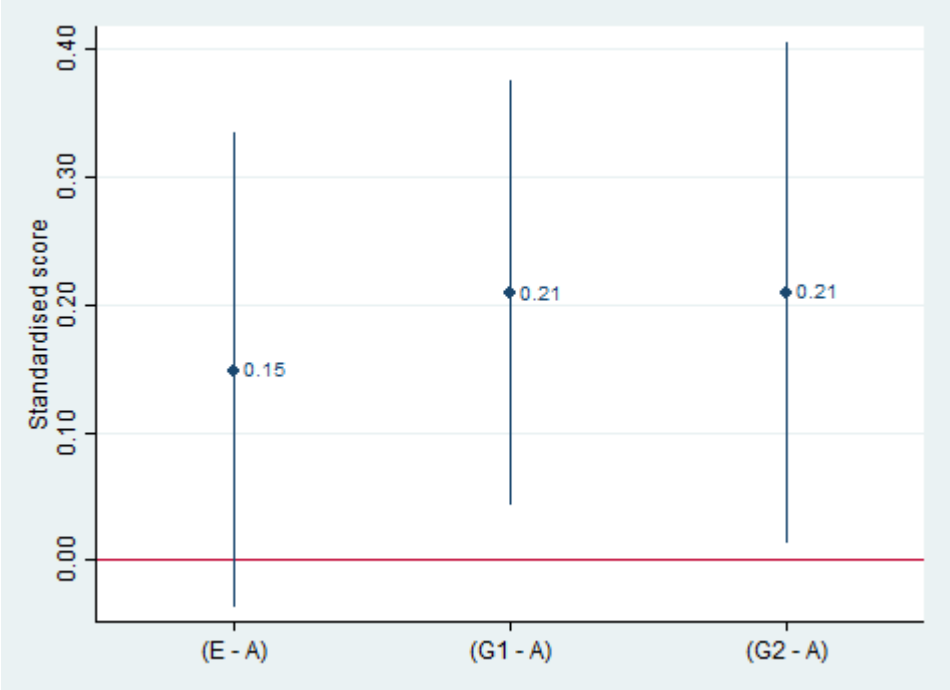
Is there a difference between girls and boys? Figure 7.3 shows the multivariate analysis of attitudes to violence disaggregated by sex. The same pattern of higher scores indicating more aggression and an openness to be violent can be seen for boys and girls, but the impact of the programme is only significant at 5 per cent for boys of group G1. In fact, all the other impacts fail to reach the 10 per cent significance level. Given the statistical power associated with boys in the sample (n=380) and, even more so, with girls in the sample (n=800), the absence of impact cannot be reconciled on account of a small sample size. Instead, we find that this is reflective of the actual magnitude of the impact, which is marginal, or not statistically different from zero.

Figure 7.1 Unmatched comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour



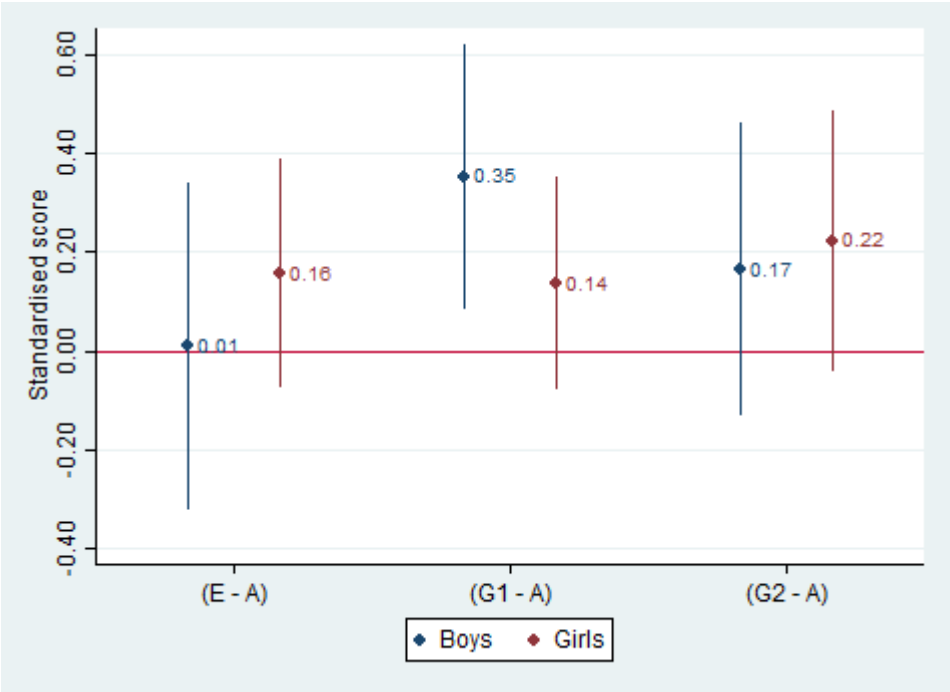
Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from ordinary least squares (OLS), N=1,187.

Figure 7.2 Multivariate analysis of comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour



Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from ordinary least squares (OLS), N=1,180. Controls include age, sex, lives in Mumbai, prior crime and attitudes towards associates.

Figure 7.3 Multivariate analysis of comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour, by sex



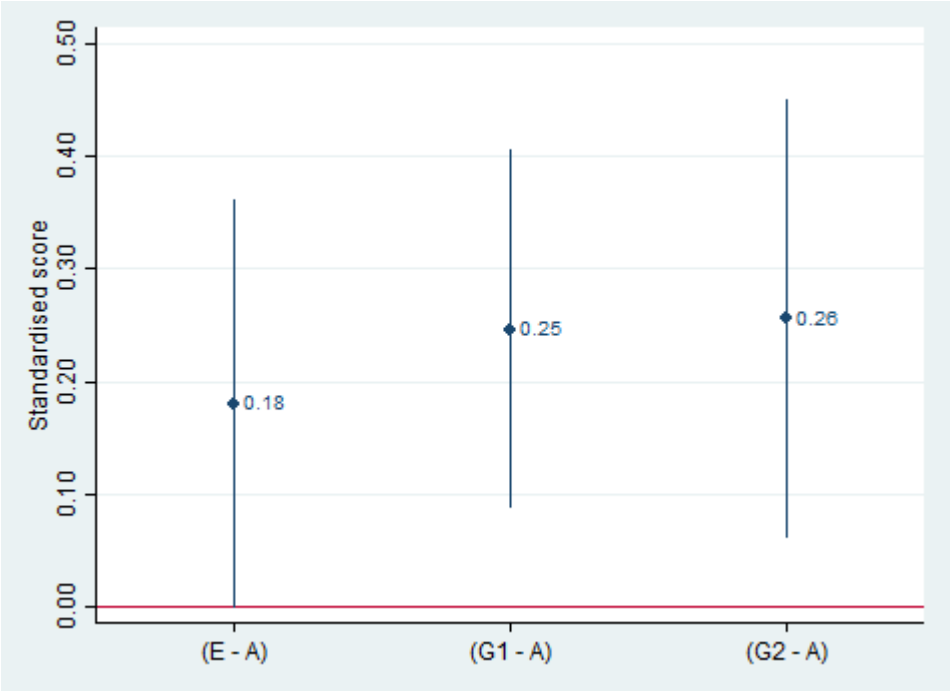
Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from ordinary least squares (OLS), N=800 for girls, N=380 for boys. Controls include age, lives in Mumbai, prior crime and attitudes towards associates.

7.1.2 Effect on attitudes: attitudes to entitlements

Result 2: We find that members of groups E, G1 and G2 are more inclined to feel entitled than members of group A. Figure 7.4 reproduces the unmatched comparisons of Figure 7.1 with attitudes to entitlements instead of attitudes to violence.

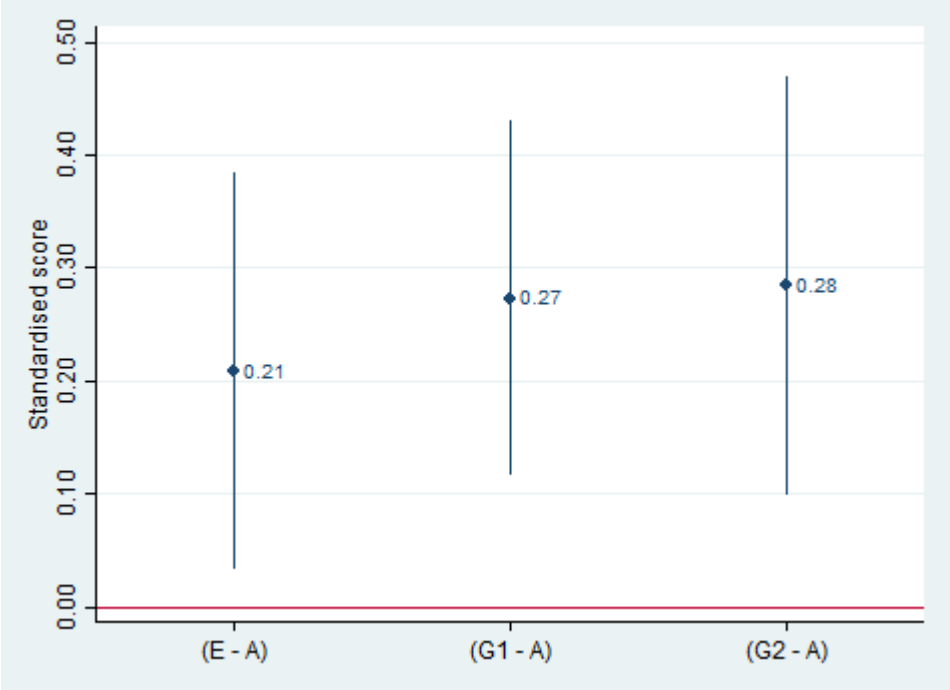
The effect size is slightly larger than for attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour (25 per cent versus 20 per cent of the standard deviation). Once again, accounting for potential selection bias through a multivariate setting does not fundamentally change the results as can be seen in Figure 7.5. The estimated impacts become slightly larger, however, so that the impact of E minus A is now statistically positive at the 5 per cent level. Disaggregating the analysis by sex, we find in Figure 7.6 that boys of every treatment group and girls of groups G1 and G2 report significantly higher (at the 5 per cent level) feelings of entitlements than their counterparts of group A. The impact is higher for boys (around 0.3 across the three groups) than for girls (average of 0.25 across groups G1 and G2).

Figure 7.4 Unmatched comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on attitudes to entitlements



Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from ordinary least squares (OLS), N=1,186.

Figure 7.5 Multivariate analysis of comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on attitudes to entitlements



Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from ordinary least squares (OLS), N=1,179. Controls include age, sex, lives in Mumbai, prior crime and attitudes towards associates.

Figure 7.6 Multivariate analysis of comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on attitudes to entitlements, by sex

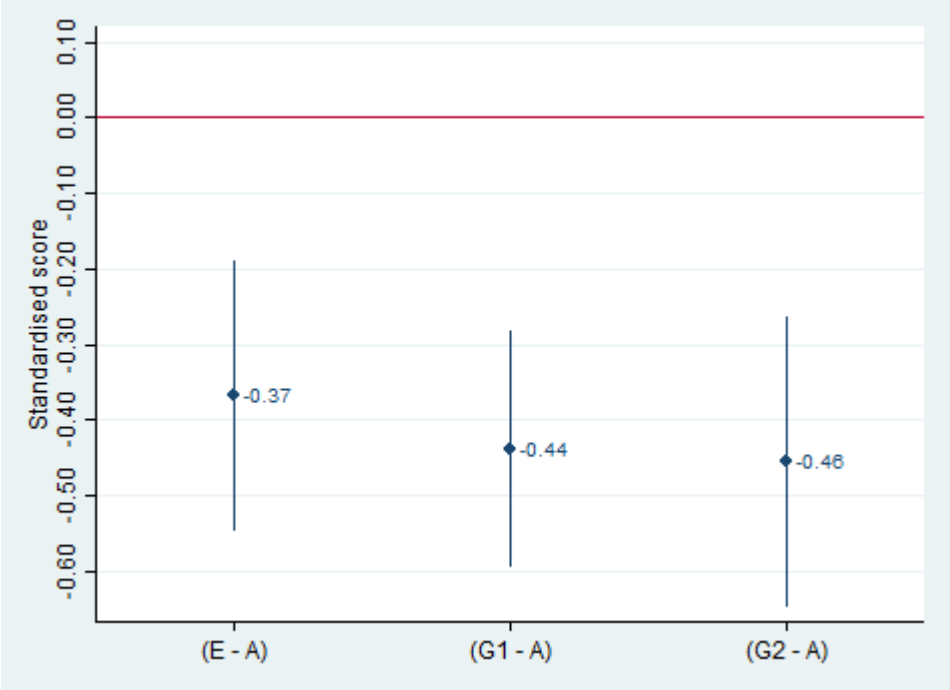
Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from ordinary least squares (OLS), N=798 for girls, N=381 for boys. Controls include age, lives in Mumbai, prior crime and attitudes towards associates.

7.2 Anti-social intent

Behavioural intentions are a better predictor of future behaviour than are general attitudes (Ajzen 1998; Ajzen and Fishbein 1980). We therefore included items such as ‘For a good reason, I would commit a crime’ and ‘I would be open to cheating certain people’ in the anti-social intent scoring.

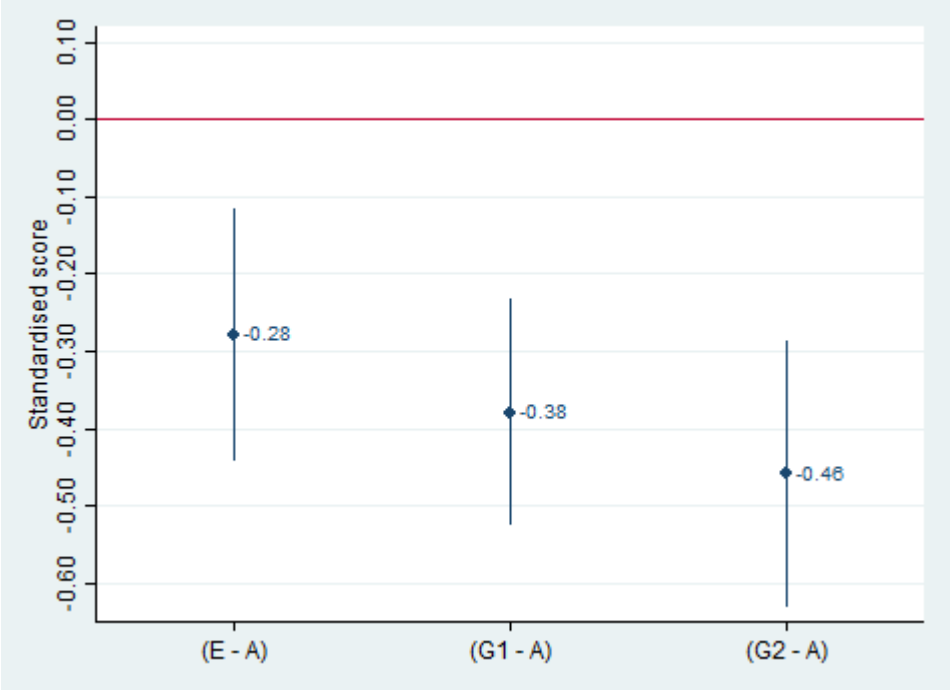
Result 3: Members currently enrolled in the programme score 0.37 (for group E), 0.44 (for group G1) and 0.46 (for group G2) standard deviation less on the anti-social intent scale than those aspiring to be on the programme. Impact for the three groups is highly statistically significant ($p<0.001$). Results regarding the unmatched comparisons of anti-social intent between A, E and G groups are displayed in Figure 7.7. The results hold when controlling for potential confounders, albeit with a lower impact in absolute size for E minus A, now at 0.28, and G1 minus A, now at 0.38. The results are also mostly symmetric between girls and boys, as shown in Figure 7.9. Two differences are (i) the impact of E minus A is less precisely estimated for boys than for girls (but is still significant at 10 per cent), whereas (ii) the impact is bigger for girls than for boys among members of G2 (0.53 versus 0.39 in absolute value).

Figure 7.7 Unmatched comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on anti-social intent



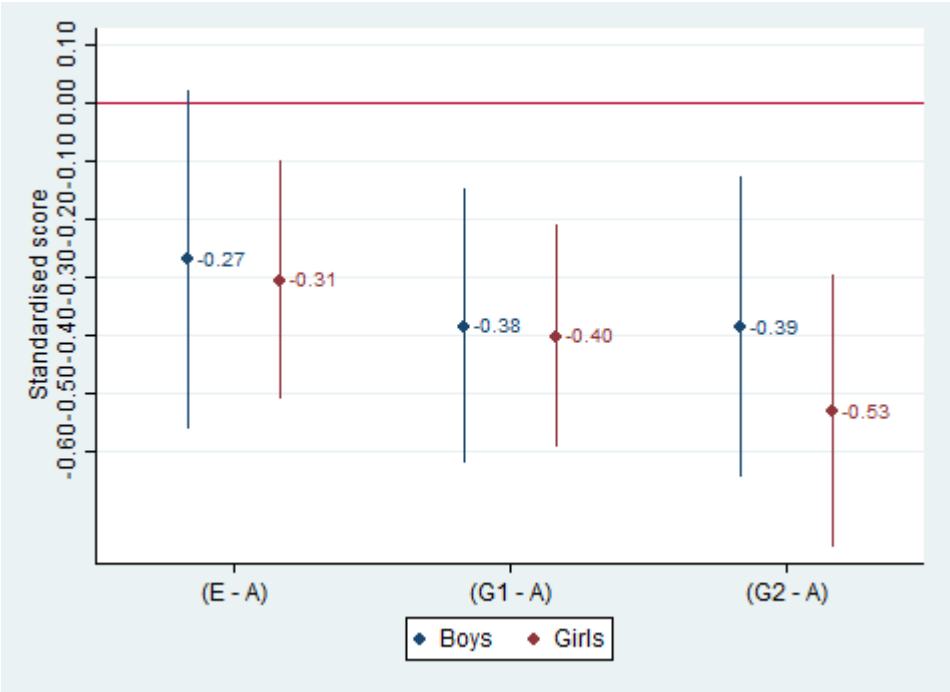
Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from ordinary least squares (OLS), N=1,186.

Figure 7.8 Multivariate analysis of comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on anti-social intent



Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from ordinary least squares (OLS), N=1,179. Controls include age, sex, lives in Mumbai, prior crime and attitudes towards associates.

Figure 7.9 Multivariate analysis of comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on anti-social intent, by sex



Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from ordinary least squares (OLS), N=798 for girls, N=380 for boys. Controls include age, lives in Mumbai, prior crime and attitudes towards associates.

7.3 Impact on those with a criminal background

At this juncture, we are interested in evaluating whether positive impacts of the programme carry through to those with a criminal background. We ask:

SQ2: Are the benefits of the YP programme reaching the most 'at-risk' population?

Following on from the strong result in the previous section, we are particularly interested in finding out whether the benefits of the YP programme in terms of reducing anti-social intent are reaching the most 'at-risk' population.

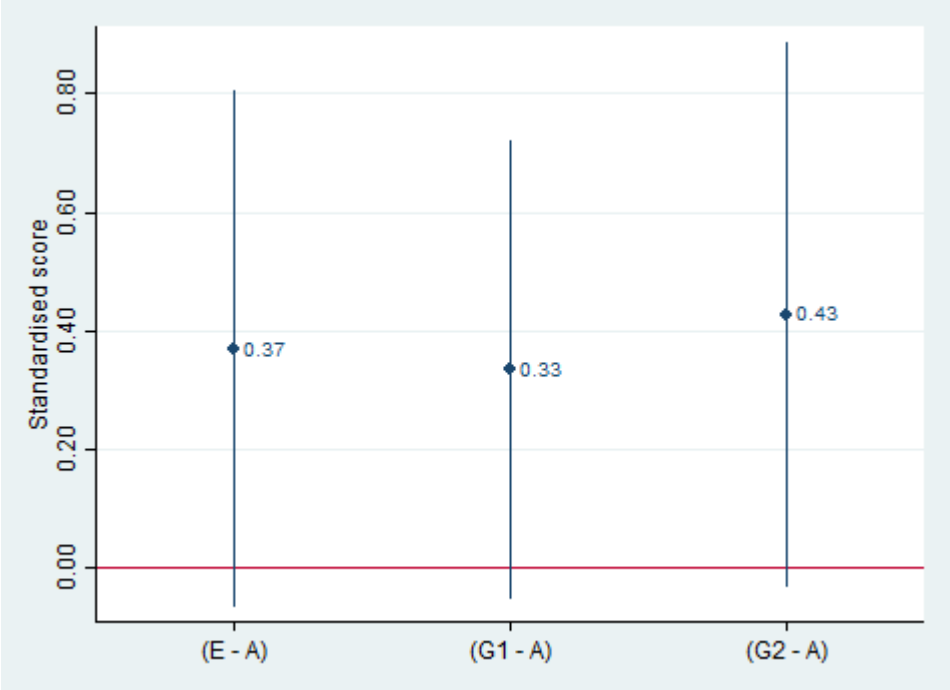
To proxy for the most 'at-risk population', we use the variable of whether respondents admit to having committed a crime with friends in the past. There are good theoretical grounds to believe that in the event of no interventions, these individuals will be most likely to be involved in crime in the future. 20 per cent of the sample (three quarters are boys) fall in this category. As a measure of robustness of this proxy variable, we can cross-reference with attitudes towards associates, for which the mean score over the entire sample is 1.35. The average score rises to 2.35 for individuals admitting a previous crime against, while it is only 1.1 for the others. This also provides reassurance that the self-reported variable of past crime can be considered accurate.

Table 7.1 Mean scores for attitudes towards associates

Attitudes towards associates	n with valid data	Mean	SD
Over entire sample	1,202	1.35	1.49
Among those self-reporting perpetration of crime with friends	239	2.35	1.65
Among those not reporting perpetration of crime with friends	963	1.1	1.34

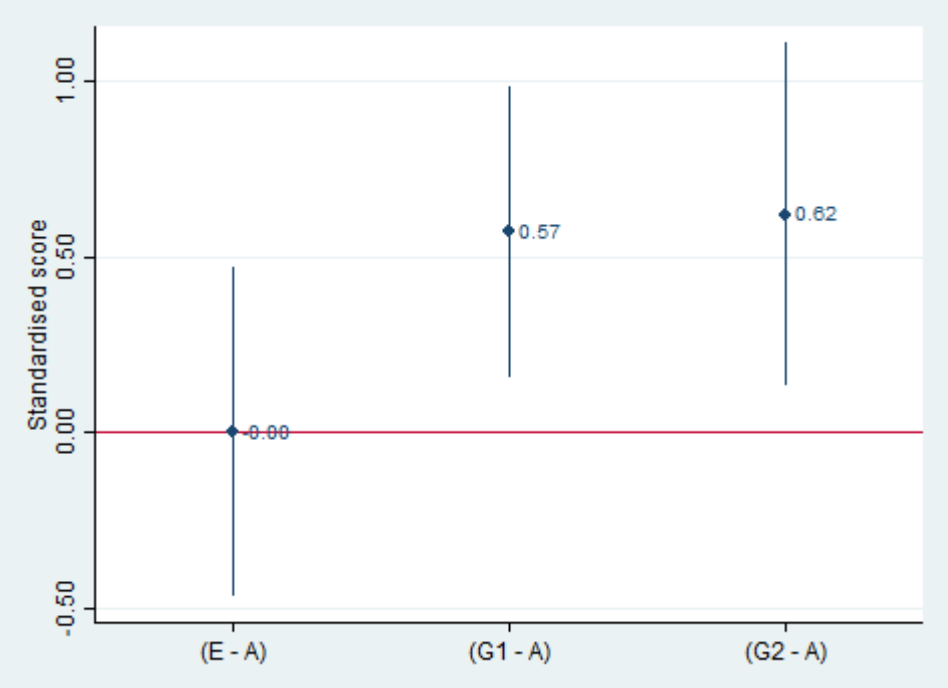
We re-ran the analysis on attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour, entitlement and anti-social intent for the subsample of prior criminals to see whether the programme is able to reach out to these individuals. Figures 7.10 to 7.12 present the findings from multivariate analysis of attitudes to violence, attitudes to entitlements and anti-social intent.

Figure 7.10 Multivariate analysis of comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on attitudes to violence among those self-reporting perpetration of crime



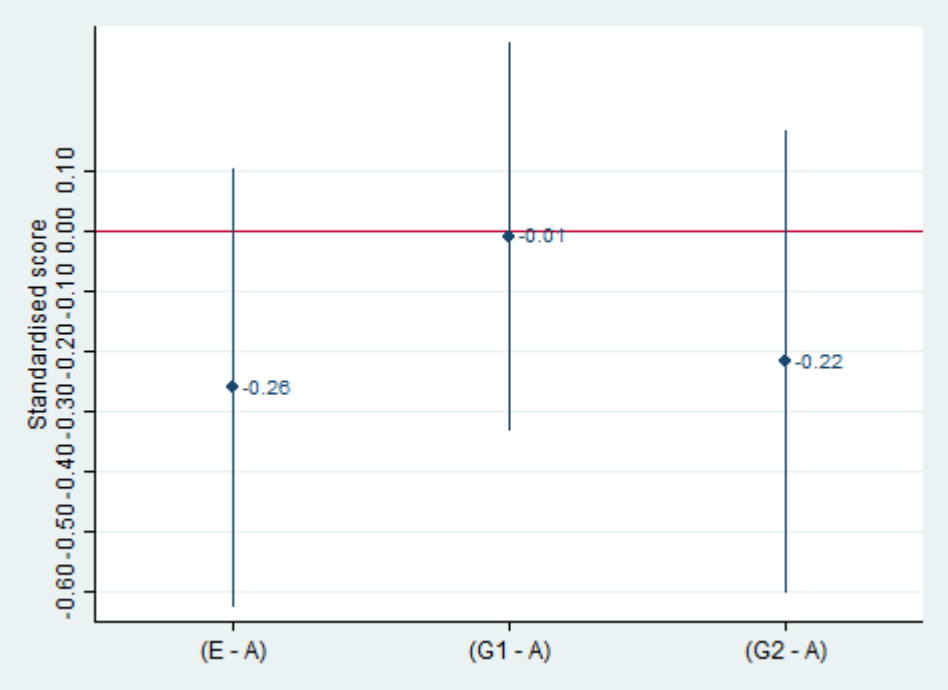
Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from ordinary least squares (OLS), N=235. Controls include age, sex, lives in Mumbai, prior crime and attitudes towards associates.

Figure 7.11 Multivariate analysis of comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on attitudes to entitlements among those self-reporting perpetration of crime



Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from ordinary least squares (OLS), N=235. Controls include age, sex, lives in Mumbai, prior crime and attitudes towards associates.

Figure 7.12 Multivariate analysis of comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on anti-social intent among those self-reporting perpetration of crime



Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from ordinary least squares (OLS), N=233. Controls include age, sex, lives in Mumbai, prior crime and attitudes towards associates.

Result 4: The results on attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour are roughly comparable. The estimated impact of the programme on attitudes to violence ranges between 0.37 and 0.43 standard deviation, and is significant at the 10 per cent level for all groups. Graduates from the programme experience a much larger increase (0.5 standard deviation) in their attitudes to entitlements respective to A and E group members than for the population at large (0.2 standard deviation). Finally, the positive impacts (for all groups) on anti-social intent vanishes when the population of interest is restricted to those who self-report perpetrating crime.

7.4 Behavioural change: involvement in youth activities

SQ3: Does the YP programme lead to pro-social behavioural changes?

To gauge whether the programme leads to pro-social behavioural changes, as opposed to attitudes, we use the two following variables: 'Do you take part in any community activities or sport?' and 'Are you involved with any youth groups in your community?' We create the variable 'fully involved' that takes the value 1 if the respondent agreed to both the above questions and 0 otherwise. In our sample, 31 per cent of the female and 44 per cent of the male respondents are thus classified as fully involved.

Box 7.1 Involvement in the community remembered as the 'happiest time'

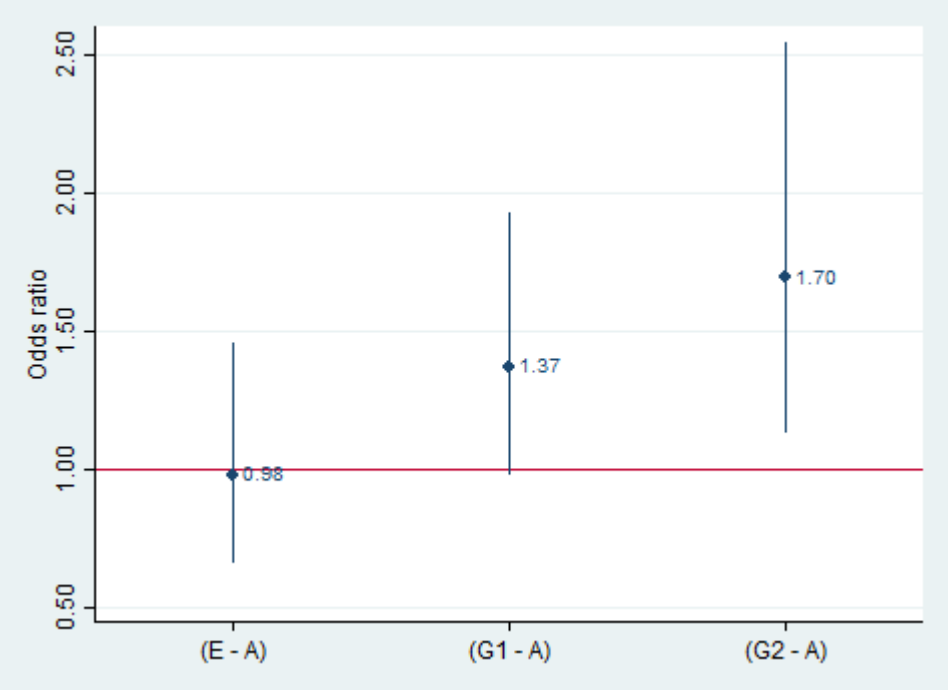
P, in prison for murder, recalled coming across two orphan children who were stealing from the roadside vendors and running away. The vendor told P that this was a regular feature but he did not know who the kids were. After lot of efforts P traced the children and came to know that these were Gujjar children and had become orphans due to militancy. He was very moved by this and took them in his home, fed and clothed them and decided to take care of them. He took them to his family and his family agreed to keep them. P was around 18–19 years old during this time. He met the Sub-Divisional Magistrate (SDM) and spoke about opening an orphanage. The SDM agreed and asked him to give a detailed report. He had identified 82 orphans and decided to extend help to 45. He opened the orphanage and this was the peak experience in his life. He remembers this as the happiest time of his life.

Source: Interview with P, Mumbai, December 2014.

Using the same unmatched and multivariate analyses of the previous sections, Figure 7.13 displays the odds ratio for members of groups E, G1 and G2 being fully involved with respect to members of group A. An odds ratio of 1 for any pair-wise comparison means that the odds of being fully involved are the same for both groups; an odds ratio below 1 means that the odds of being fully involved are lower in the treatment group than in the comparison group. Similarly, an odds ratio above 1 means that the odds of being fully involved are higher in the treatment group than in the comparison group.

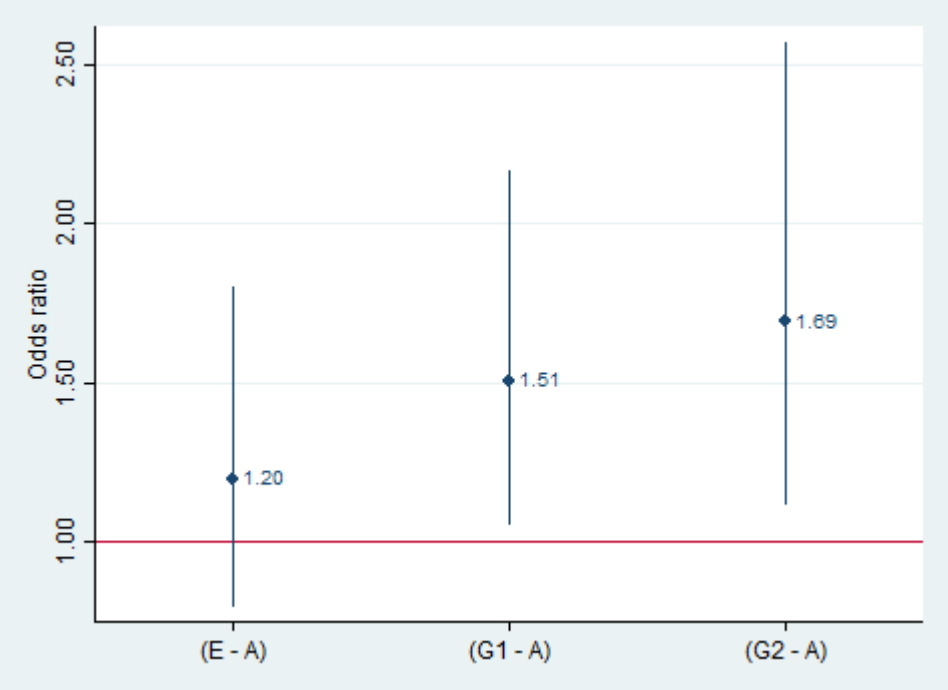
Result 5: From the following figures, we can see that once potential confounders are accounted for, the odds of involvement are markedly higher in E, G1 and G2 groups than in the A group. Interestingly, the impact increases in magnitude with time since first being exposed to the programme: youth currently in the programme have an 18 per cent higher chance of being fully involved in the community, individuals who have graduated last year have a 50 per cent higher chance of being involved and individuals who graduated at least two years ago have a 70 per cent higher chance of being involved in the community, than those in group A. Recall that this is controlling for the effect of age so it is not the case that the results indicate that as individuals get older they tend to be more involved. Figure 7.15 shows that the effect is very slightly higher for girls and, unsurprisingly given the sample sizes, more precisely estimated for girls. Girls of group G1 and G2 are statistically more likely (by 55 and 80 per cent, respectively) to be fully involved in the community than members of group A, and these effects are significant at 10 per cent. Boys of group G2 are 66 per cent more likely to be involved than members of group A (significant at 10 per cent).

Figure 7.13 Unmatched comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on involvement in community and youth activities



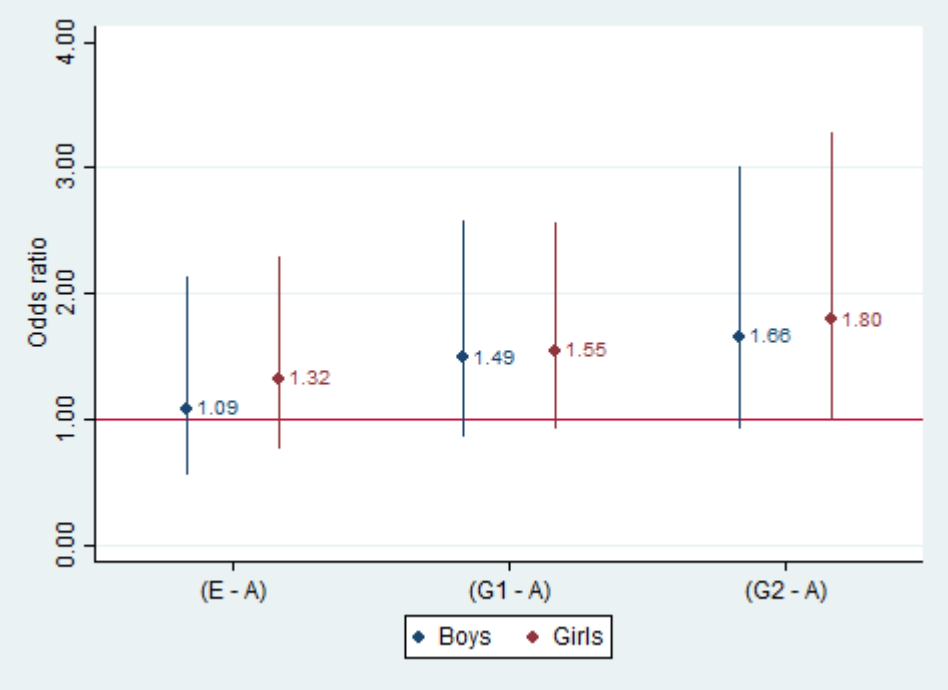
Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from a logit regression, N=1,187.

Figure 7.14 Multivariate analysis of comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on involvement in community and youth activities



Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from a logit regression, N=1,180. Controls include age, sex, lives in Mumbai, prior crime and attitudes towards associates.

Figure 7.15 Multivariate analysis of comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on involvement in community and youth activities, by sex

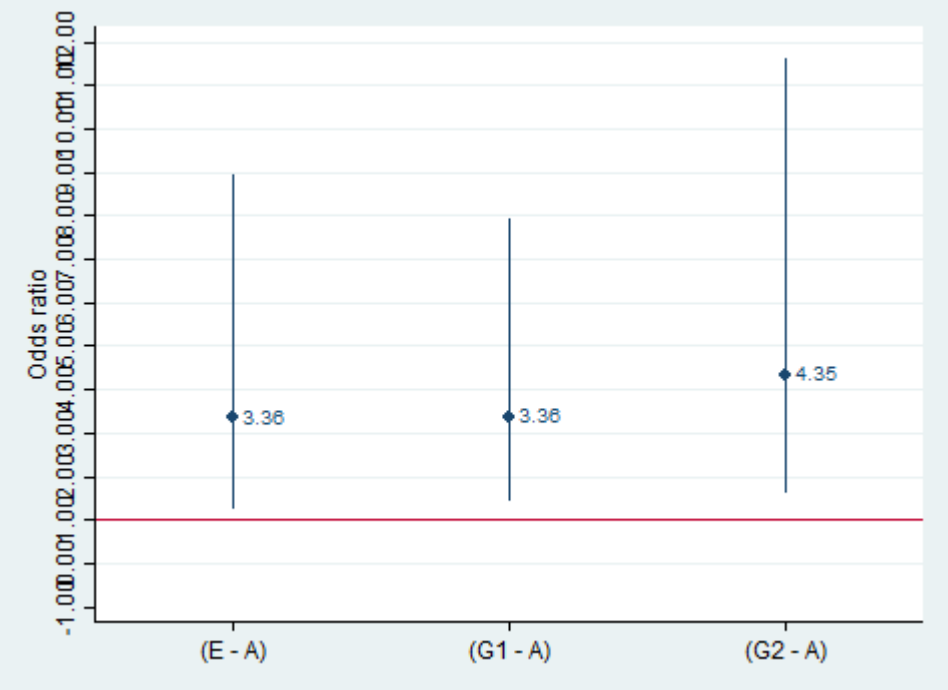


Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from a logit regression, N=800 for girls and N=380 for boys. Controls include age, sex, lives in Mumbai, prior crime and attitudes towards associates.

We again extend our enquiry to ascertain whether this beneficial impact carries through to those who self-report a history of criminal activity.

Result 6: We find that the impact of the programme on community involvement is in fact considerable on those who self-report perpetrating crime. As seen in Figure 7.16, compared to members of A, youth currently enrolled in the programme, members of G1 and members of G2 are 3.4 times, 3.4 times and 4.3 times more likely to be involved in the community, respectively.

Figure 7.16 Multivariate analysis of comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on involvement in community and youth activities among former criminals



Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from a logit regression, N=235.

7.5 Impact on jobs

7.5.1 Employment and job-seeking rates

One of the main aims of the programme is to provide youth with valuable skills to help them find a job. To estimate whether the programme works, one would ideally compare the cohorts of graduates with similar individuals who have not gone through the programme at all. In the absence of such a control group, we can only provide some suggestive evidence on the effectiveness of the programme. As a first stage analysis, we look at the employment rates among G1 and G2 members. If the programme is successful, we would expect these rates to be high. Given the difficulties to insert oneself into the job market coming from prison, we would also expect employment rates in G2 to be higher than in G1.

As seen in Table 7.2, we find that the overall employment rate of the G1 cohort is 20 per cent and that of the G2 cohort is 41 per cent. Employment rate for girls is about half that of boys.

Table 7.2 Employment and activity rates among programme graduates

Employment categories	G_1	G_2
Employment rate (%)		
Full sample	20	41
Girls	16	29
Boys	32	56
Looking for work (%)		
Full sample	51	55
Girls	50	65
Boys	53	49
Unemployed and not looking for a job (%)		
Full sample	38	26
Girls	40	34
Boys	31	15

Note: some are actively looking for a job even though they are currently working.

We further ask:

SQ4: Is there a relationship between attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour, entitlement, anti-social intent and employment outcomes?

Result 7: When we predict employment status by these attitudes, with the same set of controls in place as in previous estimations, we find that attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour and anti-social intent are unrelated to both job status and whether the individual is looking for work. Feelings of entitlement, however, are positively correlated with actively looking for work but not with working status.

7.5.2 Job expectations

SQ5: Does the YP programme manage to instil a feeling of confidence among the trainees about their future prospects of finding a job?

We measured 'pessimism' relating to job expectations out of a total score of 6, using the scoring template listed below. Over the entire sample, the mean pessimism score was 4.34 (n=1,201, sd=1.54):

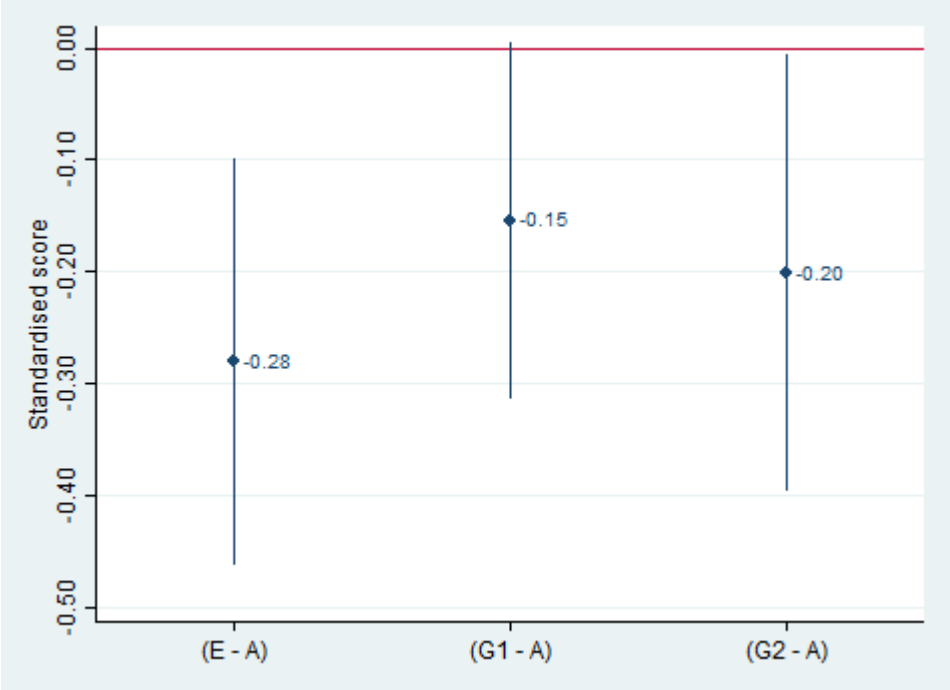
Pessimistic outlook on jobs and employment	Score 1 point if	Total score
The level of education I currently have should be enough for me to find a job	Disagree	6
It is impossible to get a good job	Agree	
I will need to move far away from home to find a good job	Agree	
It is impossible to find a good job if you have a criminal record	Agree	
Vocational training makes it easier to find a job	Disagree	
Only people with university or college degrees get respectable jobs	Agree	

Result 8: We find that the programme significantly reduces pessimism (which may be interpreted as instilling confidence) among all treatment groups in the unmatched specification and for groups E and G2 in the multivariate specification. The impacts are

statistically significant at the 5 per cent level, and range between 0.25 (for E minus A) and 0.18 (for G2 minus A) standard deviations. When disaggregated by sex, the point estimates are unchanged and show no differences across sexes. However the standard errors increase so that the impacts are not statistically significant anymore. This is likely due to the reduced sample sizes.

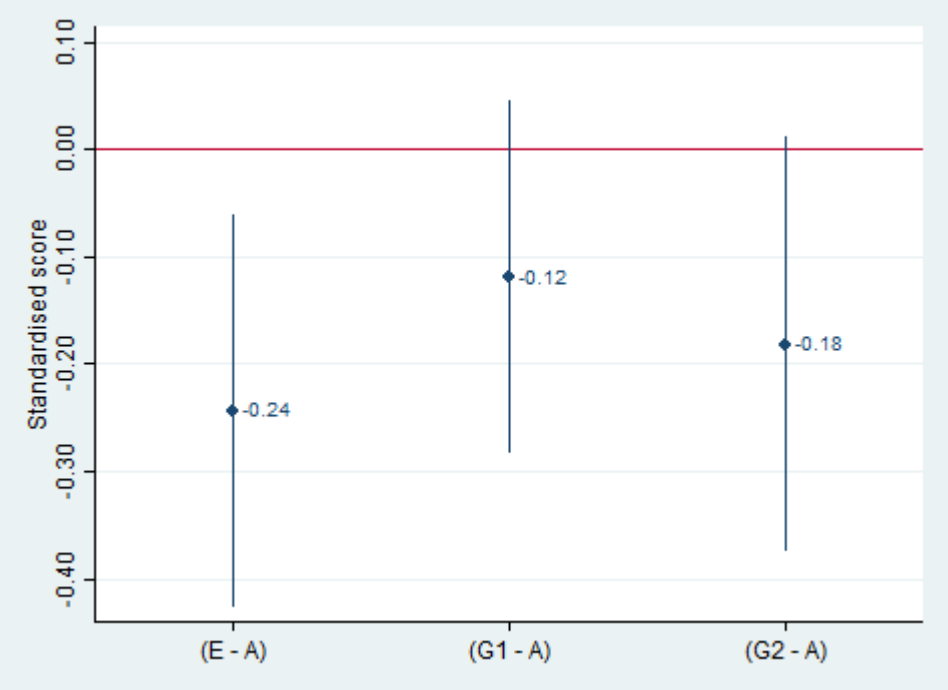
The effect of the programme is especially pronounced for those who report committing a crime in the past: pessimistic expectations are lower by about 0.4, 0.6 and 0.5 standard deviation among members of groups E, G1 and G2 than group A, respectively.

Figure 7.17 Unmatched comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on pessimistic job expectations



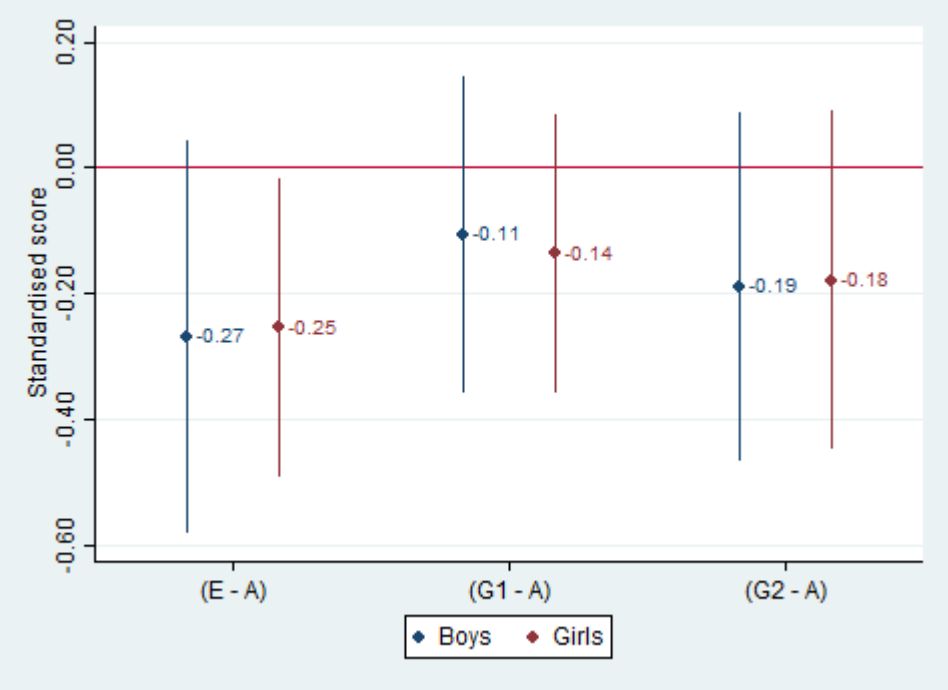
Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from ordinary least squares (OLS), N=1,184.

Figure 7.18 Multivariate analysis of comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on pessimistic job expectations



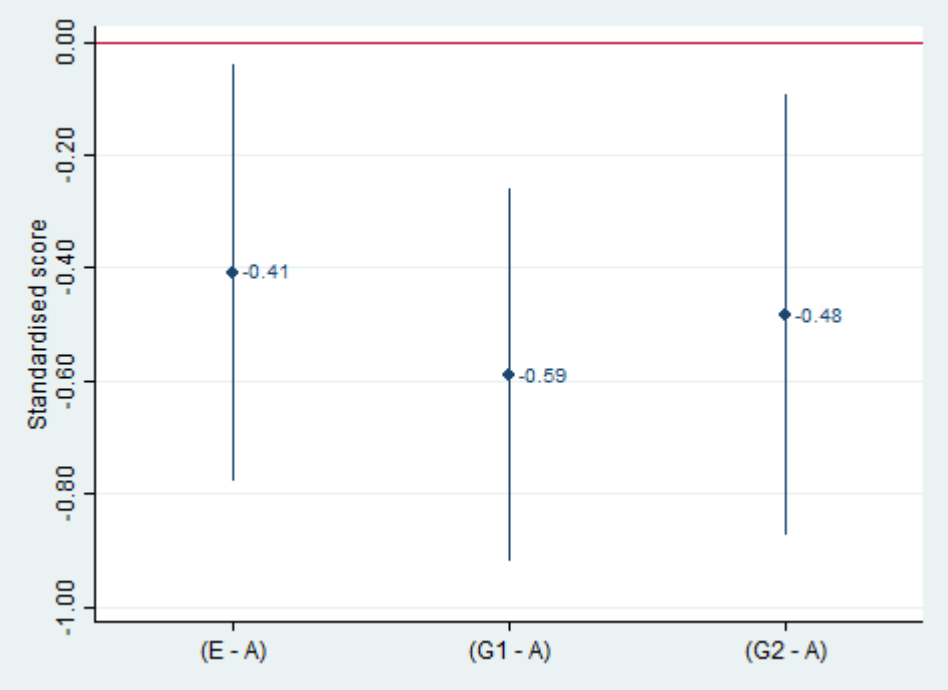
Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from ordinary least squares (OLS), N=1,177. Controls include age, sex, lives in Mumbai, prior crime and attitudes towards associates.

Figure 7.19 Multivariate analysis of comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on pessimistic job expectations, by sex



Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from ordinary least squares (OLS), N=797 for girls and N=380 for boys. Controls include age, sex, lives in Mumbai, prior crime and attitudes towards associates.

Figure 7.20 Multivariate analysis of comparisons between group A and groups E, G1 and G2 on pessimistic job expectations among former criminals



Note: Coefficients and 95 per cent confidence intervals estimated from ordinary least squares (OLS), N=234. Controls include age, sex, lives in Mumbai, prior crime and attitudes towards associates.

8 Interpreting the results and implications

In Maharashtra, state-sponsored programmes that support school dropouts in finding employment and integrating into society are severely limited by a lack of resources and capacity. While several government-sponsored schemes do exist, in reality, however, support for school dropouts is largely provided on an *ad hoc* basis, and predominantly by non-governmental organisations. In this context, we conducted a mixed-methods evaluation of Kherwadi Social Welfare Association's Yuva Parivartan programme. This is one of the largest non-governmental interventions directed towards school dropouts and juvenile offenders.

We found that the programme is unable to significantly change attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour (Result 1), and that the programme may be having a negative impact on these attitudes. We find this to be somewhat puzzling. Turning to the data from the life histories to further investigate this upward shift in attitudinal scores, and to get a qualitative sense of the significance of the magnitude of the shift, we found no obvious answers explaining the upward shift in scores. Nearly all life-history narratives in our sample described the programme as having a positive impact on their attitudes, stress levels and overall outlook on life. We did, however, note that deep-rooted frustrations and negative experiences in the past, such as being neglected, abused, and humiliated, lack of parental attention and guidance, or a chaotic family life, were very dominant themes (see Box 8.1). We know from other studies that violent and/or aggressive behaviour connected with these types of deep-rooted frustrations is notably difficult to address, let alone reverse (see Edens *et al*. 2001).

In this light, several of the young offenders we interviewed spoke of treading a delicate balance between being physically weak and feeling marginalised on the one hand, and (perhaps mistakenly) feeling empowered to, or being left with no other option but to, take full control of their life at an early age. Expressions of aggression or violence linked to these types of experiences tend to also be deeply tangled with feelings of disaffection (see Sudan 2007). Addressing the needs and aspirations among young offenders, as well as among youth who are at risk of committing crime in the future, are therefore important aspects of long-term violent conflict prevention strategies. It is possible that our results, which look at the impact of a three-month course, are only picking up the first stages of a much longer process of change. From the point of view of the programme, however, we do recommend that the significance of a longer-term perspective be taken on board.

The first result does need to be seen in conjunction with Result 2, that those who are enrolled in or have graduated from the YP programme (groups E, G1 and G2) are more inclined to feel entitled than those who have not yet enrolled in the course. The literature tells us that at the extreme, a very high sense of entitlement and an ensuing lack of empathy for others are traits associated with narcissistic personalities, and are often found to account for a greater likelihood of criminal behaviour (Hepper *et al*. 2014). That is, it is a behavioural trait that is broadly associated with other criminal cognitions (see Walters and White 1989). Attitudes of entitlement are also evident among specific populations with high probabilities of perpetrating grievous crime (see Hanson, Gizzarelli, and Scott 1994; Scully and Marolla 1984).

We therefore find conceptual linkages between Results 1 and 2. While it is not possible to ascertain without further in-depth qualitative research, we theorise that: both results may be driven by a sense of disaffection among youth who drop out of school, then take steps to get vocational training, but still find that it is difficult to find gainful and dignified work (only 23 per

cent of the sample were currently working, but only 56 per cent were actively looking for work).

Our recommendation is therefore to conduct further in-depth qualitative study to address this apparent weakness in the YP programme. In doing so, it needs to be recognised that attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour can stem from very deep-rooted frustrations, and that these are very difficult to address in the short term, and seem to be outside the purview of a three-month programme. Specific attention might, however, be given so as to not create unrealistic expectations among programme students.

Box 8.1 Attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour are deep-rooted and difficult to change

Life-history interview with S, 19 years, released from prison four months prior to interview date.

S says he does not remember anything about his childhood. His mother passed away when he was less than a year old. His father abandoned him and took his sister along with him to Delhi. He does not remember both his parents but feels anger towards them. He mentions about a fire in the house that led to his mother's death. He made it very clear that he would not like to discuss his mother or father… he does go on to describe how his uncle (mother's brother) put him in a local *Madarsa* [religious school] when he was four years old. The *Madarsa* was like a hostel where the students live and study. He does not have fond memories about the *Madarsa*. He remembers being teased because his father was a Hindu. The *Maulana* also felt that S was finding it difficult to learn Urdu because of this reason. At the slightest reason the teacher used to hit him… He remembers being hit on the knuckles with an iron ruler. He narrates how 'he got so used to these regular thrashings that it never deterred him from doing all kinds of mischief'. One attraction of going to school was getting a glass of milk every day. He remembers the taste of the milk and that it used to be flavoured with cardamom. He along with four other friends started to steal the milk. Once he got into trouble for this and the teacher thrashed him soundly. In retaliation, he and his friends got together and beat up the teacher. For this the principal expelled all of them. He gestures '*Laal pen se sign kiya*' [He signed with a red pen]. S has not been able to attend school since then and has not wanted to complete education past the ninth class.

Source: Interview with S, Mumbai, December 2014.

Result 3 indicates that the YP programme is very successful at reducing the extent of anti-social intent, and does so equally for boys and girls. Importantly, the effect already starts during enrolment, strengthens after graduation, and then remains stable for a year after that. However, we also find that this benefit is not reaching those who self-report perpetrating a crime with friends in the past (Result 4). In this regard, particular attention is therefore needed for this sub-group. This result might again be related to the association between aggressive behaviour and disaffection mentioned above.

Our results indicate that another strength of the YP programme is that it significantly increases the likelihood of social engagement (i.e. in community activities and youth groups) among current students (Result 5). We interpreted this as the YP programme successfully reducing social distances. We find that this impact is stronger among girls, and gets further strengthened among graduates, with time. Importantly, we also find that, unlike the impacts on attitudes towards anti-social intent, the impact of a reduction in social distance is particularly strong for those who report perpetrating crime (Result 6). Given that these impacts appear to strengthen with time, our interpretation is that there is some degree of evidence that the programme is likely to lead to pro-social behavioural changes, particularly among the most at-risk population. While definitively tracking behavioural change is obviously not possible through a cross-sectional evaluation, this result potentially points to a significant strength of the YP course.

Our next set of results pertains to the relationship between attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour, entitlement and anti-social intent on the one hand, and employment outcomes on the other (Result 7). Firstly, if the programme is successful, we expect employment rates among graduates to be high. We expect school dropouts and those being released from prison to face considerable difficulties in accessing the job market. These difficulties take time to overcome, and we would therefore expect employment rates to increase with time. In this regard we know that a significant majority of respondents (in both the IQQ and qualitative samples) rated the YP programme positively. 60 per cent said that the programme helped them in finding a job, 89 per cent said that the programme helped them change their priorities in life, and 90 per cent said that the programme helped manage their stress and frustrations better. However, it was interesting to note that these perceptions did not fully match actual achievement: overall employment rate among those with a one-year gap since graduating from the YP programme is only 20 per cent, and employment rate among those with a two-year gap since graduating is 41 per cent. Employment rate for girls is about half that of boys. The large proportion of girls not having and not looking for a job is striking. This again links back to the findings related to disaffection.

Second, as we have theorised, attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour, anti-social intent and high sense of entitlement are strong predictors of criminal behaviour, and we would therefore expect a negative impact of such attitudes on employment status and job prospects. However, we find that in our sample, employment or job-seeking statuses are not significantly influenced by individuals' attitudes towards aggressive and/or violent behaviour and anti-social intent. It is difficult to interpret this result given that the present study is limited to a two-year gap since graduating from the YP programme. It is fully reasonable to expect that the time horizon for potential impacts of attitudes on actually achieving employment would be much longer. To test this result more robustly, our recommendation is therefore to expand the evaluation design to include longitudinal comparisons that allow the tracking of employment outcomes over longer time horizons.

Finally, we find that the YP programme is extremely successful in instilling a sense of confidence among students (Result 8). The programme reduces pessimism relating to job prospects significantly, and this benefits at-risk youth the most. While this is a strong and encouraging result, it does need to be viewed in conjunction with Result 2, which indicates that the programme is also raising feelings of entitlement.

Annex 1 Tables of results

Table A1 Attitudes to violence, OLS estimations

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Sample	Full	Full	Boys	Girls	Prior crime
Group E	0.15	0.15	0.0097	0.16	0.37*
	(0.092)	(0.094)	(0.17)	(0.12)	(0.22)
Group G1	0.20**	0.21**	0.35**	0.14	0.33*
	(0.081)	(0.085)	(0.14)	(0.11)	(0.20)
Group G2	0.20**	0.21**	0.17	0.22*	0.43*
	(0.099)	(0.100)	(0.15)	(0.13)	(0.23)
Age		0.013	0.0038	0.016	-0.030
		(0.0092)	(0.018)	(0.011)	(0.023)
Prior crime		-0.031	-0.13	0.0034	
		(0.078)	(0.15)	(0.092)	
Girl		-0.093			-0.17
		(0.064)			(0.17)
Attitudes to associates		-0.034	0.021	-0.058**	-0.12***
		(0.021)	(0.039)	(0.025)	(0.044)
Lives in Mumbai		-0.19*	-0.36*	-0.15	-0.072
		(0.10)	(0.19)	(0.12)	(0.25)
Observations	1,187	1,180	380	800	235
r2	0.0054	0.015	0.040	0.016	0.062

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A2 Attitudes to entitlements, OLS estimations

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Sample	Full	Full	Boys	Girls	Prior crime
Group E	0.18*	0.21**	0.34**	0.12	-0.0011
	(0.092)	(0.089)	(0.15)	(0.12)	(0.24)
Group G1	0.25***	0.27***	0.32***	0.23**	0.57***
	(0.081)	(0.080)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.21)
Group G2	0.26***	0.28***	0.27**	0.27**	0.62**
	(0.099)	(0.094)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.25)
Age		0.0036	0.0039	0.0048	-0.023
		(0.0087)	(0.016)	(0.010)	(0.024)
Prior crime		-0.52***	-0.67***	-0.45***	
		(0.074)	(0.13)	(0.090)	
Girl		-0.27***			-0.13
		(0.061)			(0.18)
Attitudes to associates		-0.12***	-0.090**	-0.13***	-0.33***
		(0.020)	(0.035)	(0.025)	(0.047)
Lives in Mumbai		-0.099	-0.26	-0.042	0.059
		(0.099)	(0.17)	(0.12)	(0.27)
Observations	1,186	1,179	381	798	234
r2	0.0086	0.12	0.14	0.10	0.22

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A3 Anti-social intent, OLS estimations

Sample	(1) Full	(2) Full	(3) Boys	(4) Girls	(5) Prior crime
Group E	-0.37***	-0.28***	-0.27*	-0.31***	-0.26
	(0.092)	(0.083)	(0.15)	(0.10)	(0.18)
Group G1	-0.44***	-0.38***	-0.38***	-0.40***	-0.0100
	(0.080)	(0.075)	(0.12)	(0.097)	(0.16)
Group G2	-0.46***	-0.46***	-0.39***	-0.53***	-0.22
	(0.098)	(0.088)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.19)
Age		-0.0048	0.0078	-0.0085	-0.020
		(0.0081)	(0.016)	(0.0095)	(0.019)
Prior crime		0.86***	0.69***	0.93***	
		(0.069)	(0.13)	(0.082)	
Girl		-0.11*			0.13
		(0.057)			(0.14)
Attitudes to associates		0.14***	0.090***	0.16***	0.23***
		(0.019)	(0.034)	(0.023)	(0.037)
Lives in Mumbai		-0.061	0.18	-0.17	-0.24
		(0.092)	(0.17)	(0.11)	(0.20)
Observations	1,184	1,178	380	798	233
r2	0.028	0.24	0.15	0.28	0.19

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A4 Involvement in community and youth activities, OLS estimations

Sample	(1) Full	(2) Full	(3) Boys	(4) Girls	(5) Prior crime
Group E	-0.019 (0.20)	0.18 (0.21)	0.085 (0.34)	0.28 (0.28)	1.21** (0.50)
Group G1	0.31* (0.17)	0.41** (0.18)	0.40 (0.28)	0.44* (0.26)	1.21*** (0.44)
Group G2	0.53** (0.21)	0.53** (0.21)	0.51* (0.30)	0.59* (0.31)	1.47*** (0.50)
Age		-0.017 (0.020)	-0.0094 (0.036)	-0.018 (0.023)	0.011 (0.045)
Prior crime		0.058 (0.17)	0.25 (0.30)	-0.028 (0.20)	
Girl		-0.54*** (0.13)			-0.89** (0.36)
Attitude to associates		0.066 (0.045)	-0.017 (0.079)	0.11** (0.054)	0.11 (0.089)
Lives in Mumbai		-0.22 (0.23)	0.44 (0.39)	-0.61* (0.32)	-1.15* (0.61)
Observations	1,187	1,180	380	800	235

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A5 Pessimistic job expectations, OLS estimations

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Sample	Full	Full	Boys	Girls	Prior crime
Group E	-0.28***	-0.24***	-0.27*	-0.25**	-0.41**
	(0.093)	(0.093)	(0.16)	(0.12)	(0.19)
Group G1	-0.15*	-0.12	-0.11	-0.14	-0.59***
	(0.081)	(0.084)	(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.17)
Group G2	-0.20**	-0.18*	-0.19	-0.18	-0.48**
	(0.099)	(0.098)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.20)
Age		-0.0073	-0.027	0.00022	-0.033*
		(0.0090)	(0.017)	(0.011)	(0.019)
Girl		-0.13**			-0.11
		(0.063)			(0.15)
Lives in Mumbai		-0.22**	-0.23	-0.22*	-0.16
		(0.10)	(0.18)	(0.13)	(0.21)
Prior crime		0.47***	0.47***	0.49***	
		(0.077)	(0.14)	(0.094)	
Attitudes to associates		0.0078	0.039	-0.0067	0.048
		(0.021)	(0.037)	(0.026)	(0.037)
Observations	1,184	1,177	380	797	234
r2	0.0080	0.052	0.064	0.045	0.076

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Annex 2 Individual Quantitative Questionnaire (IQQ)

Skip logic	Q	Question	Options
		Household context	
ALL	1a)	Are you living with your parents?	*Y/N*
ALL	1b)	Are you the main income provider?	*Y/N*
If 1b = Y	1bi)	If Y - how many people depend on you?	
If 1b = N	1bii)	If N - who is the main income provider?	*1=Father* *2=Mother* *3=Sibling* *4=Grandparent* *5=Other*
ALL	1c)	Do you look after any family members financially?	*Y/N*
		Employment	
ALL	2)	Are you currently working?	*Y/N*
If 2 = Y	3a)	What type of job is that?	*1=Monthly salary* *2=Hourly Wage* *3=Unpaid*
If 2 = Y	3b)	How long have you had this job?	*1=less than 1 year* *2=between 1 and 3 years* *3=more than 3 years*
If 2 = Y	3c)	How long did it take you to find this job?	*1=less than 1 month* *2=between 1 and 6 months* *3=6 months – 1 year* *4=more than 1 year*
If 2 = Y	3d)	How did you get this job?	*1=Direct result of the YP Programme* *2=Through someone you knew* *3=Other (please provide detail)*
If 2 = Y	3e)	Do you feel the job is related to your skills?	*Y/N*
If 2 = Y	3f)	How do you get to your work place?	*1=Bus* *2=Your own car* *3=Shared car* *4=Alone in auto/taxi* *5=shared*

			auto/taxi *6=train* *7=walking* *8=other (please provide detail)*
If 2 = Y	3g)	How long do you travel to get to work – one way?	*1=less than 1 hour* *2=between 1 and 1.5 hours* *3=between 1.5 and 2 hours* *4=more than 2 hours*
If 2 = Y	3h)	Do you like your job?	*Y/N*
If 2 = Y	3i)	Do you think you will be able to get a better job in the future?	*Y/N*
If 2 = Y	3ji)	What would be some of the reasons you may want to leave your current job?	
If 2 = Y	3jii)	To work with better people?	*A / D*
If 2 = Y	3jiii)	To get a job with a better status?	*A / D*
If 2 = Y	3jiv)	For a higher salary?	*A / D*
If 2 = Y	3jv)	To be closer to home?	*A / D*
If 2 = Y	3jvi)	To have better working hours?	*A / D*
If 2 = Y	3jvii)	To feel safer?	*A / D*
If 2 = N	4a)	Did you have a job in the past?	*Y/N*
If 4a = Y	4b)	Why did it end?	
If 2 = N	4c)	Are you actively looking for a job?	
If 4c = Y	4ci)	What is the main reason you are looking for a job?	*1=To get better status* *2=To have a salary/money* *3=To have control of my life* *4=other (please give details)*
If 4c = Y	4cii)	Why do you think you are finding it difficult to find a job?	
If 4c = N		Why not?	
If 4c = N	4d)	Do you think you will be able to get a job in the future?	
ALL	5)	Describe to me what you think a ‘good job’ is: (*do not prompt, allow multiple choices, place 'X' marks alongside all that apply*)	
		High salary	
		High personal reputation	
		High reputation of the employer	
		Close to home	
		Far away from home	

		Pays enough to cover my or my family's needs	
		Better than my peers	
		My parents think it is a good job	
		My friends think it is a good job	
		Other? (please give details)	
		Satisfaction with programme and outlook on life	
ALL	6a)	Are you satisfied with the vocational training you received?	*Y/N*
ALL	6b)	Do you think that it has helped you get a job?	*Y/N*
ALL	6c)	Do you think it has changed your priorities in life?	*Y/N*
ALL	6d)	Do you think it helped you manage stress and frustration better?	*Y/N*
ALL	6e)	Do you take part in any community activities or sport?	*Y/N*
ALL	6f)	Are you involved with any youth groups in your community?	*Y/N*
ALL	6g)	Do you feel a sense of belonging within your community?	*Y/N*
ALL	6h)	Do you feel close to your parents/family?	*Y/N*
ALL	6i)	Is there anything you would like to have done differently within the vocational training programme?	*Give details*
		Perceptions	
		Say you will now read aloud several statements, and ask respondent whether they agree or disagree. Tell them to answer instinctively, without thinking too much. Read aloud list of statements and note down response for each.	
			Agree / Disagree
	1	I would keep any amount of money I found	*A / D*
	2	I would not steal, but I would hold it against anyone who does	*A / D*
	3	The level of education I currently have should be enough for me to find a job	*A / D*
	4	Only I should decide what I deserve	*A / D*
	5	I have friends who have been to jail	*A / D*
	6	A good job is one that pays lots of money	*A / D*
	7	It is impossible to get a good job	*A / D*
	8	None of my childhood friends or neighbours has ever been arrested	*A / D*
	9	I know people who have found good work without having a formal education	*A / D*
	10	Sometimes you have to fight to keep your self-respect	*A / D*
	11	I know lots of people who have university or college degrees	*A / D*
	12	I will need to move far away from home to find a good job	*A / D*

	13	It is impossible to find a good job if you have a criminal record	*A / D*
	14	I should be allowed to decide what is right and wrong	*A / D*
	15	I would be open to cheating certain people	*A / D*
	16	Vocational training makes it easier to find a job	*A / D*
	17	I have committed a crime with friends	*A / D*
	18	No one in my close family has ever been arrested	*A / D*
	19	Only people with university or college degrees get respectable jobs	*A / D*
	20	None of my current friends or neighbours has ever been arrested	*A / D*
	21	Someone who makes you very angry deserves to be hit	*A / D*
	22	For a good reason, I would commit a crime	*A / D*
	23	None of my friends has ever wanted to commit a crime	*A / D*
	24	It is easier to get a job if you are a girl	*A / D*
	25	A lack of money should not stop you from getting what you want	*A / D*
	26	I have friends who are well known to the police	*A / D*
	27	I have childhood friends who cannot find a job	*A / D*
	28	None of my friends have ever committed crimes	*A / D*

Annex 3 Life-history protocol

Introductory comments
This is an interview about the story of your life. We are asking you to play the role of storyteller about your own life – to construct for us the story of your own past, present, and what you see as your own future.

We want to talk to you about the key points in your life that you feel have been important in shaping your decisions, where you are today, and how you got here.

The interview is divided into a number of sections. In order to complete the interview within an hour and a half or so, it is important that we not spend too much time in the early sections, especially the first one in which I will ask you to provide an overall outline of your story. The interview starts with general things and moves to the particular. Therefore, do not feel you have to provide a lot of detail in the first section in which I ask for this outline. The detail will come later. I will guide you through the interview so that we can finish it in good time. I think that you will enjoy the interview. Most people do.

Do you have any questions?

I. Life chapters
We would like you to begin by thinking about your life as a story. There are high points and low points in the story, good times and bad times, and so on. Think about your life story as having at least a few different chapters. I would like you to describe for me each of the main chapters of your life story. You may have as many or as few chapters as you like, but I would suggest dividing your story into at least two and at most about seven. If you can, give each chapter a name and describe briefly the overall contents in each chapter. As a storyteller here, think of yourself as giving a plot summary for each chapter. This first part of the interview can expand forever, so I would like you to keep it relatively brief, say, within 20–25 minutes. Therefore, you don't want to tell me 'the whole story' now. Just give me a sense of the story's outline – the major chapters in your life.

[The interviewer may wish to ask for clarifications and elaborations at any point in this section, though there is a significant danger of interrupting too much. If the subject finishes in under 10 minutes, then he/she has not said enough, and the interviewer should probe for more detail. If the subject looks as if he/she is going to continue beyond half an hour, then the interviewer should try (gently) to speed things along somewhat. Yet, you don't want the subject to feel 'rushed'. (It is inevitable, therefore, that some subjects will run on too long.) This is the most open-ended part of the interview. It has the most projective potential. Thus, we are quite interested in how the subject organises the response on his or her own. Be careful not to organise it for the subject.]

If not covered through the course of discussion – please clarify:

Are you living with your parents at the moment?
Are you the main income provider in your household?
Y – how many people depend on you?
N – how many others are there in the house?
Do you look after any family members at the moment?
Are you married?
Do you have any children?
Does your family own the house you stay in?
What area do you live in?

II. Critical events

Now that you have given us an outline of the chapters in your story, we would like you to concentrate on a few key events that may stand out in bold print in the story. A key event should be a specific happening, a critical incident, a significant episode in your past set in a particular time and place. It is helpful to think of such an event as constituting a specific moment in your life story which stands out for some reason. These are particular moments set in a particular time and place, complete with particular characters, actions, thoughts, and feelings.

I am going to ask you about seven specific life events. For each event, describe in detail what happened, where you were, who was involved, what you did, and what you were thinking and feeling in the event. Also, try to convey what impact this key event has had in your life story and what this event says about who you are or were as a person. Please be very specific here.

[Interviewer please note that critical events are short, time-constrained incidents. Something that happens over a long period of time is a 'chapter' rather than an 'event'. Please try to steer the interviewee this way.]

Do you have any questions?

Event #1: Peak experience

A peak experience would be a high point in your life story – perhaps the high point. It would be a moment or episode in the story in which you experienced extremely positive emotions, like joy, excitement, great happiness, uplifting, or even deep inner peace. Today, the episode would stand out in your memory as one of the best, highest, most wonderful scenes or moments in your life story.

Please describe in some detail a peak experience that you have experienced some time in your past.

Tell me exactly what happened, where it happened, who was involved, what you did, what you were thinking and feeling, what impact this experience may have had upon you, and what this experience says about who you were or who you are.

[Interviewer should make sure that the subject addresses all of these questions, especially ones about impact and what the experience says about the person. Do not interrupt the description of the event. Rather ask for extra detail, if necessary, after the subject has finished initial description of the event.]

Event #2: Bad experience

A bad experience is the opposite of a peak experience. It is a low point in your life story. Thinking back over your life, try to remember a specific experience in which you felt extremely negative emotions, such as despair, disillusionment, terror, guilt, etc. You should consider this experience to represent one of the 'low points' in your life story.

Even though this memory is unpleasant, I would still appreciate an attempt on your part to be as honest and detailed as you can be.

Please remember to be specific. What happened? When? Who was involved? What did you do? What were you thinking and feeling? What impact has the event had on you? What does the event say about who you are or who you were?

[Interviewer should make sure that the subject addresses all of these questions, especially ones about impact and what the experience says about the person. Do not interrupt the

description of the event. Rather ask for extra detail, if necessary, after the subject has finished initial description of the event.]

Event #3: Turning point
In looking back on your life, it is often possible to identify certain key 'turning points' – episodes through which you have gone through substantial change. Turning points can occur in many different spheres of a person's life – in relationships with other people, in work and school, in outside interests, etc. I am especially interested in a turning point in your understanding of yourself. Please identify a particular episode in your life story that you now see as a turning point. If you feel that your life story contains no turning points, then describe a particular episode in your life that comes closer than any other to qualifying as a turning point.

[Note: If subject repeats an earlier event (e.g. peak experience, nadir) ask him or her to choose another one. Each of the eight critical events in this section should be independent. We want eight separate events. If the subject already mentioned an event under the section of 'Life chapters', it may be necessary to go over it again here. This kind of redundancy is inevitable.]

Event #4: Important childhood scene
Now describe a memory from your childhood that stands out in your mind as especially important or significant. It may be a positive or negative memory. What happened? Who was involved? What did you do? What were you thinking and feeling? What impact has the event had on you? What does it say about who you are or who you were? Why is it important?

Event #5: Important adolescent scene
Describe a specific event from your teenaged years that stands out as being especially important or significant.

Event #6: Important adult scene
Describe a specific event from your adult years (age 21 and beyond) that stands out as being especially important or significant.

[If interview is under 21 years old – leave out this question]

Event #7: One other important scene
Describe one more event, from any point in your life that stands out in your memory as being especially important or significant.

III. Life challenge
Looking back over the various chapters and scenes in your life story, please describe the single greatest challenge that you have faced in your life. How have you faced, handled, or dealt with this challenge? Have other people assisted you in dealing with this challenge? How has this challenge had an impact on your life story?

IV. Influences on the life story: positive and negative
Positive
Looking back over your life story, please identify the single person, group of people, or organisation that has had the greatest positive influence on your story. Please describe this person, group, or organisation and the way in which they have had a positive impact on your story.

Negative
Looking back over your life story, please identify the single person, group of people, or organisation that has had the greatest negative influence on your story. Please describe this person, group, or organisation and the way in which they have had a negative impact on your story.

V. Alternative futures for the life story
Now that you have told me a little bit about your past, I would like you to consider the future. I would like you to imagine two different futures for your life story.

Positive future
First, please describe a positive future. That is, please describe what you would like to happen in the future for your life story, including what goals and dreams you might accomplish or realise in the future. Please try to be realistic in doing this. In other words, I would like you to give me a picture of what you would realistically like to see happen in the future chapters and scenes of your life story.

Negative future
Now, please describe a negative future. That is, please describe a highly undesirable future for yourself, one that you fear could happen to you but that you hope does not happen. Again, try to be pretty realistic. In other words, I would like you to give me a picture of a negative future for your life story that could possibly happen but that you hope will not happen.

[Note to interviewers: try to get as much concrete detail as possible.]

VI. Personal ideology
Now I would like to ask a few questions about your fundamental beliefs and values and about questions of meaning and spirituality in your life. Please give some thought to each of these questions.
Consider for a moment the religious or spiritual dimensions of your life. Please describe in a nutshell your religious beliefs or the ways in which you approach life in a spiritual sense. Please describe how your religious or spiritual life, values, or beliefs have changed over time.
How do you approach political and social issues? Do you have a particular political point of view? Are there particular issues or causes about which you feel strongly? Describe them.
What is the most important value in human living? Explain.
What else can you tell me that would help me understand your most fundamental beliefs and values about life and the world, the spiritual dimensions of your life, or your philosophy of life?
Do you feel a sense of belonging within your community?
What do you think about those who earn a living via unlawful means?

VII. Life theme
Looking back over your entire life story as a story do you think there is a central theme, message, or idea that runs throughout the story? What is the major theme of your life story? Explain.

VIII. Other
What else should I know to understand your life story?

IX. Further questions/leading questions
[If the following topics have not been covered by the answers to the above questions, please ask specific questions now]

Employment
Are you working?
YES
How long have you had this job?
How long did it take you to find this job?
How did you get this job?
Was it a direct result of the YP programme?
Was it through someone you knew?
Is it related to your skills?
How long do you travel to get to work?
What would be the main reason you would leave this job?
Work with better people?
Job with better status?
Higher salary?
Closer to home?
Better working hours?
Safer?
Do you think you will be able to get a better job in the future?

NO
When did you last have a job?
Why did it end?
Are you actively looking for a job?
Y - What kind of work are you looking for?
What is the main reason you are looking for a job?
To get better status?
To have a salary/money?
Control of my life?
N – Why not?
Do you think you will be able to get a job in the future?
Do you find it difficult to be unemployed? Why?

Aspirations

Are you satisfied with the vocational programme training?
Y – do you think that it has helped you get a job?
N – what would you like to be done differently?
Do you take part in any community activities or sport?
Are you involved with any youth groups in your community?

Household context
Is there anyone in your close family who is currently arrested?
Has anyone in your close family ever been arrested?
Have you recently been arrested?
Have you ever been arrested?

Crime and recidivism:
Q) Can you imagine a situation where you might commit crime again? Can you describe what might lead to this happening?

Outlook on life:
Q) Are things looking up for you in the future? Why or why not?

Jobs:
Q) Describe your ‘dream job’ - (ask about pay, work arrangements, dignity of work, career prospects)
Q) What do you think are the main challenges for you to get that job?

Vocational training:
Q) Describe the course you took (are taking). Do you think it is helping/has helped you? How?
Q) What would make the training be better?

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